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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

CUMBERLAND & WESTMORLAND ANTIQUARIAN & ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY

(FOUNDED 1866).

VOLUME XXI.—NEW SERIES.

EDITORS

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MEETINGS HELD BY THE SOCIETY, 1920-21.

1. Carlisle .. .. August 31st.
2. Pilgrimage of the Roman Wall .. September 1st–3rd.
3. Carlisle .. .. April 7th.

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Adopted at the Annual General Meeting, July 7th, 1921.

I.—The Society shall be called "The Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society."

II.—The Society, founded in 1866, shall have for its purpose the investigation, description and preservation of the antiquities, archæology and historical records of Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire North of the Sands.

III.—The Society shall consist of the original members and those who may have been or shall be elected either at a General or a Council Meeting, upon the nomination of two members.

IV.—There shall be a General Fund, and the Annual Subscription is one guinea, due and payable on July 1st in each year; and no member shall be entitled to the privileges of the Society while his or her subscription is in arrear. A composition of fifteen guineas shall constitute Life Membership; such composition-fees shall be invested. The Annual Subscription for members elected before June 30th, 1920, shall remain at the original rate of 10/6.

V.—Departments of the Society's work are:—

(1) The Parish Register Section, founded in 1911, annual subscription one guinea, for which members shall receive the yearly volume of Registers.

(2) The Research Fund, founded 1907, minimum annual subscription 10/6; subscribers shall receive special copies of reports of explorations.

(3) The Record-Publication Fund, founded 1912, minimum annual subscription 10/6, for which subscribers shall receive the volumes issued by the assistance of the Fund, up to the amount of their subscriptions.

VI.—The officers of the Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, an Editor or Editors, two Auditors, a Secretary or Secretaries, and a Treasurer, being honorary officers, who shall be elected at the Annual Meeting of the members of the Society.

VII.—The management of the Society shall be in a Council consisting of the officers above-named, except the Auditors, and of twelve other members, who shall be annually elected at the same time as the other officers.

VIII.—On the recommendation of the Council, the Annual Meeting may elect, either as Patrons or as Honorary Members, such as by their eminence in antiquarian studies, or for their services rendered to the Society, or for other reasons, are deemed worthy of the honour.

IX.—The Society shall hold two or more meetings in each year at some convenient place, at which papers shall be read. The printing of papers in the *Transactions* shall be left to the discretion of the Editor or Editors, whose decision on all points regarding the editing of the *Transactions* shall be final.

X.—The Council shall have power to appoint Local Secretaries and Sub-Committees to assist in the work of the Society.

XI.—The Council shall meet about the month of April to discuss the place or places at which the Annual and other Meetings of the Society shall be held in the season next ensuing.

XII.—Members may introduce guests at the ordinary meetings of the Society.

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ART. I.—*Explorations in the Roman Fort at Ambleside (fourth year, 1920) and at other sites on the Tenth Iter.* By R. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A., F.S.A.

IN this paper I propose to bring together (1) the results of a fortnight's digging at Ambleside in the spring of 1920; (2) a description of the pottery found in 1915 on that site, which I was unable to describe at the time; (3) a survey of the Roman road from Ambleside by Little Langdale to Wrynose, and (4) a discussion of the date of Hardknot Castle in the light of the pottery found there in 1889-1893. These various subjects are brought into connexion by the fact—for we may now accept it as a fact—that the road which runs from Kendal (Alone) by Ambleside (Galava) and Hardknot to Ravenglass (Clanoventa) is the Tenth Iter of the Antonine road-book; from which it follows that the road and its forts may reasonably be studied together.

Both Ambleside and Hardknot were pre-Hadrianic sites, probably founded by Agricola in A.D. 79; but while Ambleside was soon abandoned, Hardknot was maintained as a garrison until thirty or forty years after Agricola's retirement. After this it was never again occupied; it took no part in the Hadrianic reconstruction of the frontier system, and therefore does not figure in the Antonine Itineraries; and the still later reconstruction which has left us the *Notitia Dignitatum* made no use of it. It is exclusively a Flavian-Trajanic site. This is our conclusion; the evidence for it is given below.

It remains to be observed that whereas the pottery found at Ambleside is ill-stratified and disturbed, so that the remains of the two forts are hard to distinguish and their respective pottery-contents by no means easy to separate, the Hardknot pottery, being quite unmixed

with later wares, affords a valuable series of dated types. In the light of this series, some of my Ambleside pottery-datings need revision. I have, throughout the Ambleside work, been careful never to assign anything to the Agricolan occupation which might conceivably have belonged to the Hadrianic: the Hardknot pottery now shows that there is more pre-Hadrianic pottery at Ambleside than I had been prepared to assert with confidence. But there is not nearly enough to prove a long-continued occupation. At Hardknot there are great quantities of pottery belonging to types current about A.D. 100-120; at Ambleside these types, when they occur, occur in isolated cases, not in a hundred examples or so, as at Hardknot. Consequently the Hardknot pottery does not overthrow, but rather confirms, my previous conclusion of a short Agricolan occupation at Ambleside.

I.—Explorations at Ambleside, 1920.

Excavations carried on in 1913, 1914 and 1915, but interrupted by the war, were resumed in March and April, 1920, and continued with two men, under the supervision of the present writer, for a fortnight. No special subscriptions were raised; the expenses (about £10) which included practically nothing but wages, were defrayed out of the balance of the Research Fund. The director's expenses were cut down almost to nothing by the hospitality of our member Mr. Gordon Wordsworth, who entertained the writer at his house for the whole fortnight.

The work done falls conveniently into three sections: the Agricolan fort, the east gate of the later fort, and external buildings.

The Agricolan fort.—Attempts were made to arrive at some sort of a plan of the internal arrangements. Reference to the plan annexed to the 1915 Report shows two

roads belonging to the first fort, one running east and west not far from its south rampart, the other at right angles to this and apparently making for the north gate. We had to decide whether this latter road was or was not the *via principalis*. If so, there would be a road perpendicular to it coming from the east gate and not passing beyond it. This we found to be the case. Trenches cut across the second-century roadway showed a roadway about 10 feet wide, lying 15-18 inches lower than the second-century *via praetoria*. This latter was well metalled with rammed gravel: the first-century road seemed to be hardly metalled at all, but was identified as a raised sandy causeway between two floors to right and left. These floors—the floors of the first-century buildings—were of hard and well-laid clay, and were quite distinctly double. Two strata of charcoal were seen, with 1½ inches of the same hard clay between them. Above this again were slates, apparently not burnt: then, after some 4 to 6 inches of sand, the remains of the later fort. Below the first-century floor is undisturbed sand.

This road was found in two trenches; in a third, 50 feet east of the second-century *principia*, it was absent and the floor-level was continuous. This proves that the road in question ends where it joins the north-and-south road mentioned above; which creates at least a presumption that it is the *via praetoria* and that the main buildings of the early fort are to be sought west of the north-and-south road.

We therefore began to look for these buildings at a depth of about 3 feet below the surface. In front of the *principia*, floor-levels were found, without any definite traces of walls: in front of the granary we came upon a large deposit of burnt wheat, three inches thick and at least 25 feet long east and west by 6 feet north and south. This seems to suggest an Agricolan granary at least 30 feet in length, with its eastern end facing the *via*

principalis of the Agricolan fort; if the end reached actually to the road, the total length of the building must have been 50 feet. This I am inclined to think was the case; the wheat-deposit begins very abruptly some 50 feet west of the road, as if it had been piled up here against the end of the building, and tails off, becoming thin after 20 feet and gradually declining to nothing. It therefore appears to have been a kind of bank or drift of grain left at the further end of the building, away from the door.

The Agricolan granary may therefore be reconstructed as a long and narrow building, about 50 feet by 12 feet, lying east and west. I take the figure 12 as the minimum of width convenient for a granary; one measuring about 50 by 12 feet was actually found at Cappuck. Now at Hardknot there are two granaries, each almost exactly this size: and since the area and presumable garrison of the forts is much the same, we may conjecture a second granary at Ambleside, which, being empty at the abandonment of the fort, has left no trace to distinguish it from any other type of building. If this is the case, there was provision for storing some 350 tons of grain at Ambleside in the earlier fort, as opposed to 450 in the later; and if Agricola left a cohort of 500 men there a year's corn-supply could be accommodated twice over if, as the writer showed in these *Trans.*, N.S., XX., p. 140 (see the whole of that paper for a discussion of the questions involved), the year's supply would be 170 tons.

We may thus claim to have shown that the Agricolan fort was arranged on some principle not unlike the restoration shown in fig. 1. The position of the main streets and the northern granary are proved; the *principia* are placed opposite the *via praetoria*, their normal position; this leaves room for another granary to the south of that which we found, and for the commandant's house farther to the north. There is still room in this range of buildings

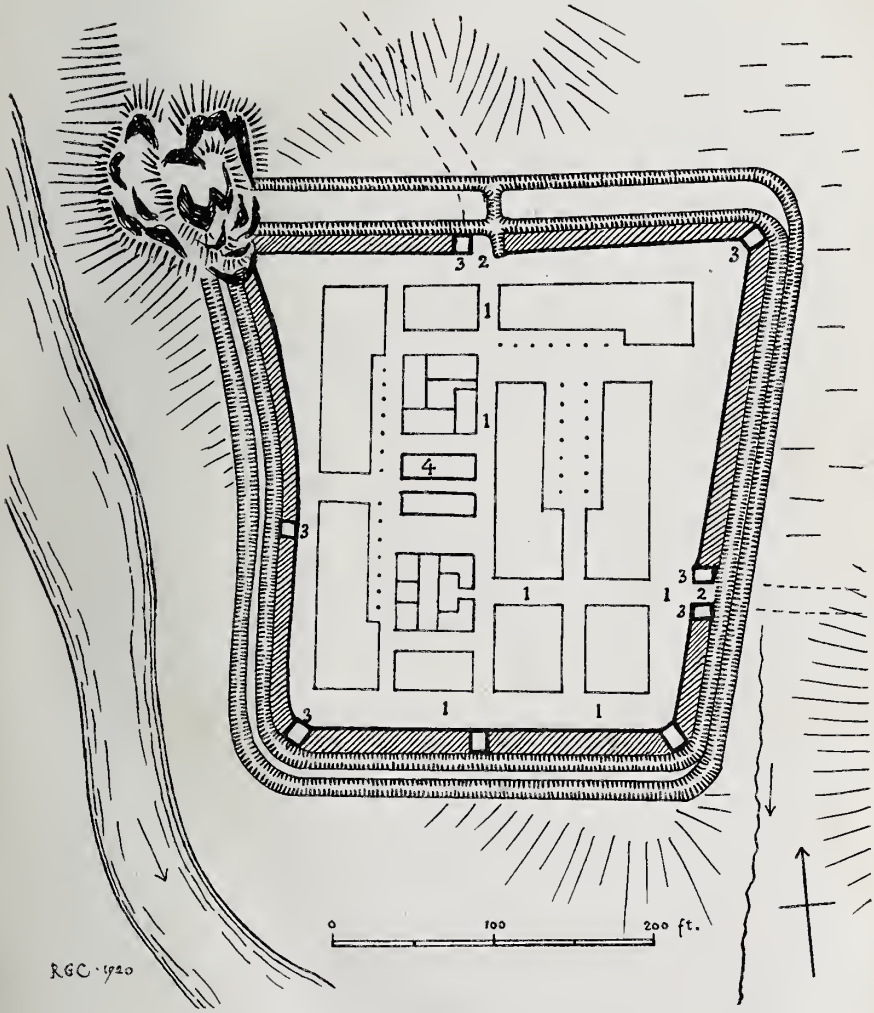

FIG. 1.—THE EARLY FORT AT AMBLESIDE.

1, 1. Streets as discovered by excavation.
2, 2. Gates ,, ,, ,, ,,
3, 3. Towers ,, ,, ,, ,,
4. Granary ,, ,, ,,

for one or two other small structures. It remains to fit in five centurial blocks—the well-known L-shaped buildings figured, e.g., in the plan of Gellygaer, these *Trans.*, N.S., xx, p. 133—and a few additional buildings for workshops, latrines and so forth. It is hardly possible to arrange these in any other way than that in which I have shown them on the plan.

That the plan remains so largely conjectural is a matter for great regret. A lavish expenditure of money might show us more; but the site is not one which can be easily deciphered. The Agricolan buildings were wholly of wood, and even the post-holes from which their plan might have been worked out are very largely obliterated by the later fort, whose foundations everywhere go down into and even through the earlier remains. The north-east corner-tower was accidentally found in 1900, as a "group of piles" (these *Trans.* N.S. ii., 32).

A word may be added as to the length of occupation. Pottery finds are scanty, but seem to confirm our Agricolan dating. Their scantiness, however, points to a short occupation. We have seen that there are two floors in certain buildings, but this is not necessarily evidence of two occupations, or even of a very long occupation. It is possible that the wetness of the site made it desirable to make up the floor after a short time. There is nothing to suggest a long occupation after, or even during, Agricola's tenure of office in Britain. On the whole it seems reasonable to suppose that the fort was built during his campaign of 79, and abandoned a year or two later when he considered the North of England pacified and was throwing his whole strength into the Scottish campaign.

East Gate, etc., of the Second Fort. Fig. 2.—The trenches dug to determine the Agricolan *via praetoria* necessarily cut through the Hadrianic *via praetoria*, and revealed the fact that this did not exactly correspond with the

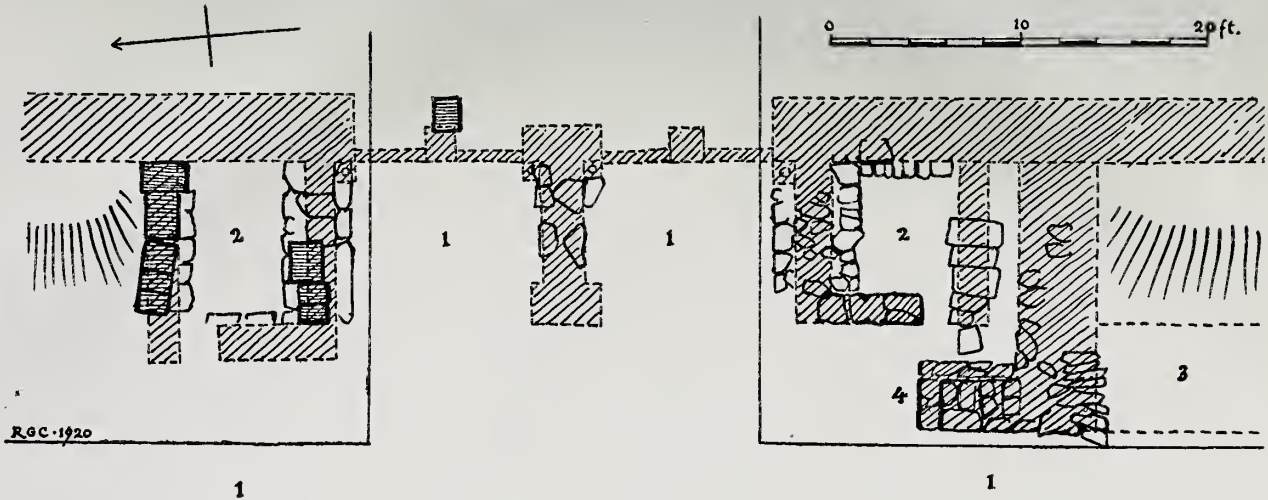

FIG. 2.—EAST GATE OF THE LATER FORT AT AMBLESIDE.

1, 1. Roadways. 2, 2. Guard-chambers. 3. Floor with Pottery. 4. Stair to Rampart-walk.

line laid down for it in the spring of 1914 (1913 Report, p. 465) but lay a trifle farther to the south. This made it obvious that the road, so determined, did not correspond with the gateway as reconstructed in 1914 (1914 Report, fig. 4: *cf.* 1915 Report, fig. 13). We had hitherto supposed that the Hadrianic road and gate lay a few feet north of the axis of the Agricolan road and gate: we now found that they coincided. This made it impossible to interpret the Hadrianic gate as a single opening with a stop-block in the centre. It became obvious that the opening must be a double one; that the so-called gateway was only the northern opening; that the so-called southern guard-chamber was the southern opening, and that the real southern end of the gate-buildings was as yet undiscovered.

To verify these inferences we dug to the southward, and found the missing guard-chamber, as shown in fig. 2. All the freestone had been robbed; nothing was left but clay and cobble foundations, with a few flagstones overlying them. The guard-chamber was 5 feet 6 inches by 4 feet 10 inches between the edges of the foundations, but the foundations were much broader than the walls, and the true dimensions must have been about 7 by 7 feet. This guard-chamber was thus shorter from east to west than the corresponding northern chamber, which in its original state must have measured about 7 by 9 feet. The asymmetry was explained when we found, immediately west of the southern guard-chamber, the foot of a flight of steps leading first south and then, turning at a right angle, east. The two bottom steps were *in situ*, obviously worn by the tread of feet; the foundations of three more were distinctly traceable; the rest had been completely destroyed in the search for stone, but the general line was clear. The treads measured 12 inches, the risers about 5 or 6 inches; and the original width, 2 ft. 10 inches, had been increased by a subsequent addition to 4 feet 1 inch.

It is fairly clear that these steps led up to the top of the gate and the rampart walk. The bottom flight would contain six steps, the remainder 11; the corner between the two flights would be occupied by a landing. This brings the rampart walk to a height of 8 feet or so above the ground. In the 1914 Report we argued from the probable slope of the clay bank that the walk was 6 feet above ground. Whether this estimate (at best conjectural) must now be corrected, or whether the steps led to the top of the gate which was, perhaps, higher than the walk, is not easy to decide. On the whole, it is best to leave the matter open pending evidence from other excavations.

The guard-chamber was cleared out, and found to contain great quantities of freestone chippings. It had clearly been used, during the building of the gateway, as a mason's shop. There was no pottery whatever, and not much trace of fire.

On the other hand, a building adjoining the stairway on the south produced ample evidence of occupation. It measured 6 feet by 11, though its walls could not be found and the measurements depend on the extent of the floor deposit. Its western wall was flush with the edge of the stairway; its eastern abutted against the clay bank behind the rampart, and was in a line with the western edge of the guard-chamber. It is probable that this room was used as a guard-chamber at some period; a period which, to judge by the pottery found in it, must have extended over a long time. We searched for a corresponding room at the north side of the gate, but there was nothing of the sort to be found. The floor of this room had not been disturbed in modern times, but there was no regular stratification; here, as often elsewhere in the second fort, remains of the second to the fourth century were found in one deposit. On the whole, the pottery found here was early: it includes

mortaria which are almost certainly Hadrianic. It follows that this chamber was not an addition to the original plan but essential to it: and that the whole plan of the gateway was asymmetrical from the first.

We tried to find traces of the building-up which is usually associated with the gateways of such forts, but without success. It must be remembered that not a single stone is anywhere standing above the foundation except the first few steps of the stairway and the few freestone blocks at the north guard-chamber. Everything else has been swept clean away. Even the flag foundations have for the most part gone, leaving only the clay and cobbles, by which alone most of the work can be traced. A few flags are left in the *spina* (as we now know it to be); five large flags are left in the south wall of the south guard-chamber, the other two having been lifted by stone-robbers to look beneath them, and found by us thrown aside.

To leave the gateway open for the inspection of visitors in this state would have been worse than useless; on the other hand it seemed highly desirable to leave something. The site being national property and much visited, we consider it proper to show as much as possible of the arrangements of the fort. We accordingly rebuilt the guard chambers and *spina* to a height of six inches or a foot, in order to mark their position: covering over the walls so constructed with turf, which will bind and preserve them. The ramparts in this immediate neighbourhood were marked at the same time with an earth mound. All this work was done by the writer's own hand, and the utmost care was taken to reconstruct nothing except on good grounds.

Here may be mentioned certain other observations which we made in connexion with the second fort. The line of road joining the north and south gates (*via principalis*) runs some 10 to 15 feet clear of the range of

principal buildings ; our work on the Agricolan granary suggested that this space was occupied by some sort of veranda. It consists of a clay and gravel floor, about 14 feet wide, on which we found potsherds, terminated by a very distinct gutter whose centre is 14½ feet in advance of the front of the granary. This gutter is about 18 inches deep and 2 feet wide. On its eastern side lies the *via principalis*, beyond which lies another gutter, and then come the barrack-buildings of the second fort.

These buildings might be expected to yield a plan and a system of stratification ; but they have done neither. The site is a shallow one ; the second-century floor is in general not more than 18 inches down, and in these 18 inches, disturbed as they have been by the plough, there is no room for well-stratified levels. In general one can see a mass of red and yellow clay with charcoal at about 18 inches down, overlying the sand which collected above the Agricolan stratum ; above this are stones, probably the ruins of walling ; above this again some sort of a floor covered with burnt slates. Thus only two floors (not counting the first-century fort) are generally visible in the barracks, and these have been so much cut up by the plough that their remains are mixed and cannot be used for dating them. For the same reason they cannot be successfully planned : their débris has been spread by the plough in such a way that it is not possible to determine their exact shape. We can only say with certainty that the barracks have been at least twice destroyed, the second time by fire.

A puzzling find was made 50 feet in advance of the gateway of the *principia*. Cutting through the Hadrianic *via praetoria*, 12 inches down, we found below it a mass of stones, slates, tiles and bricks, evidently the remains of a building, 18 inches to 2 feet 6 inches down, lying on a red and yellow clay floor containing charcoal. Below

this was a mass of green sand, and then, 3 feet to 3 feet 3 inches down, the white clay floor of the early fort. This was well marked and contained a good deal of charcoal, together with a little coarse black pottery.

The puzzle here is the very distinct occupation-level intervening between the *via praetoria* of the second fort and the sand which overlies the occupation-level of the first. It cannot belong to the first fort, for two reasons, (*a*) it is separated from that fort by over 6 inches of sand, a stratum which almost everywhere just underlies the Hadrianic buildings and seems to have been deposited naturally by the Rothay or the lake between A.D. 80 and 120; (*b*) it contained a fragment of a necked cooking-pot rim of a type known to exist in the second and succeeding centuries but totally unlike any Agricolan potsherd ever found. The type may be seen in R.W. 37 (R.W. = Mr. F. G. Simpson's paper on his excavations on the Roman Wall, these *Trans.*, N.S. xiii.) which Mr. Simpson found in the Hadrianic stratum (before 158 at the very latest) at High House turret.

This intervening occupation-level, therefore, we must date as Hadrianic, but as previous to the construction of the *via praetoria* of the Hadrianic fort. The only explanation which appears at all satisfactory is that there was here a temporary structure in which some unit was quartered just before the Hadrianic fort was built. Possibly the unit detached to build the second fort camped here, on the site of the Agricolan *principia*, while beginning their work. If this explanation is correct it proves that the stratum of sand mentioned above was laid down naturally; that is to say, that the site was liable to floods before the Hadrianic builders raised its level and defended it by means of a gravel bank to southward.

The question, raised by this deposit, of the earliest possible dating of the necked cooking-pot recurs below

in connexion with the Hardknot pottery. We shall there see reason to believe that these jars were already used in small numbers between A.D. 110 and 120; and if this is so, the presence of a specimen in an early Hadrianic deposit need cause no surprise.

External Buildings.—To northward of the fort stands a group of rocky knolls, in the centre of which is a level patch of ground measuring about 150 by 200 feet, sloping down to the fort on the south and to a rather wet field on the north. This seemed so likely a place for external buildings that we sank 25 or 30 trial holes all over it and among the adjacent rocks. Among the rocks, and on the western part of the level patch, we found nothing but undisturbed sand and gravel, obviously alluvial. But diagonally across the level patch we found a road, and east of this were floor-levels with charcoal and pottery. These floors seemed to be continuous over an area of 200 feet north and south by something like 30 to 60 feet east and west, becoming broader where the rocks give more room, to northwards. The total area is nearly twice as large as an ordinary centurial block, and the buildings here could in consequence have housed quite 200 people. This was evidently part of the *vicus* or suburbs of Galava, a part hardly less defensible than the annexes of the forts in Scotland. So far we know of no other suburbs here, though doubtless such existed.

The finds were referable to the second and following centuries. They included a fair quantity of datable pottery, including a Samian vessel (33) with the stamp of the potter SATVRNINVS, who worked at Lezoux in the middle or late second century, and whose products have often been found in this country. We found no fourth-century relics, which may indicate that these *canabae* were uninhabited at that time; but we only sampled them, and with the small total number of finds negative arguments are unsafe. On the road, 45 yards from the

north gate of the later fort, was a silver coin (*denarius*) of IVLIA AVGVSTA, wife of Severus (obverse, head r. and name; reverse, MATER DEVM, Cybele seated l between two lions, holding branch and sceptre, l. elbow resting on tympanum. Cohen, 123; vol IV., p. 115)

II.—Pottery, etc., found in 1915 and in 1920.

Consideration of the pottery in detail proves nothing new; but it tends to confirm our previous conclusion that the first fort dates from the campaigns of Agricola and was inhabited for a short time only, while the second was built as part of the Hadrianic frontier-system and was occupied till at least the middle of the fourth century. For its end we have no definite dating. We only know (1) that it has yielded a coin of Valens (364-378); (2) that it continues to yield pitted ware and wall-sided mortaria, of which the latter, though not the former, appear to begin after the middle of the fourth century. In 367, we know, there was a great incursion of Picts and Scots into England, checked in the following year by Theodosius who re-established the Roman power in the north; if we must suggest a date for the end of Galava, the disaster of 367 would suit all the evidence. Presumably it was not garrisoned at the beginning of the fifth century*, when the *Notitia Dignitatum* was drawn up; for that document mentions Ravenglass and Watercrook (Glannibanta, Tribunus Cohortis I. Morinorum; Alione, Tribunus Cohortis III. Nerviorum) but makes no mention of Ambleside. We therefore do not know the name of the cohort in garrison here. Some day the pulling-down

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* The belief that the *Per Lineam Valli* section of the *Notitia* dates from a very much earlier period seems to the writer still 'not proven.' Mr. H. H. E. Craster argued in the *Archaeological Journal* of 1914 (vol. lxxi., pp. 26-44), that the information contained in this section applies to about A.D. 300, and was utterly out of date even by 370. The argument appears inconclusive (cf. Haverfield, *Roman Britain in* 1914, p. 40); for the present no positive argument ought to be based on the date of this document.

of some old house in Ambleside will reveal an inscription which will decide it.

The pottery and other finds of 1915 are first described under their find-spots: the pottery, &c., of 1920 in the same manner.

ANALYSIS OF THE POTTERY FOUND AT AMBLESIDE IN 1915.

The series numbers of the sections through the defences of the earlier fort, and the page-numbers, refer to the 1915 Report (these *Trans.*, N.S. xvi., pp. 57-90). The numbers [in square brackets] refer to the illustrations of the present Report, Fig. 3. P.B. = Poltross Burn Report (these *Trans.*, N.S. xi.). R.W. = Roman Wall excavations Report (these *Trans.*, N.S. xiii). A and B denote the earlier and later forts respectively. B.F. = Mr. Bushe-Fox's mortarium-series in the Wroxeter report for 1912. A separate section on the figured Samian is appended below.

Site 1. In section 3, between the granary and principia of the late fort, we found 6 pieces of a Samian bowl (Drag. 37) Fig. 4, No. 2.

Two pieces of a flat Samian dish, Drag. 31 or possibly 18.

Part of a cross-broached flanged tile.

The pottery is probably middle 2nd century, though found close to a hearth belonging to the early fort; here, as often, the late foundations reach the early deposits.

Site 2. A depression in the courtyard of the commandant's house yielded:—

One small piece of figured Samian, soft clay, poor glaze, metope decoration undecipherable.

One small piece of the foot of a 37 Samian bowl (?) soft clay.

Fragment of mortarium-rim of the flanged type, not unlike no. 33 in the 1914 Ambleside Report (fig. 22 x p. 46) which I am inclined to place about A.D. 300 [17].

Two pieces of "pitted" jars of the common fourth-century type.

Several pieces of an amphora.

Two bowls: (*a*) like Corbridge 83, P.B., v., 22 (period III.). Corbridge 83 is compared (Corbridge 1911 Report, p. 41) with a 1st period Poltross Burn bowl, but the difference in the angle of the side seems to me to put it into a totally different class. This specimen therefore I place in the late third or even early fourth century. (*b*) a concave-sided type to which I do not know any dated parallel [35].

FIG. 3.—COARSE POTTERY (½).

Iron nails, an iron rod 7 in. long by $\frac{5}{8}$ in. thick: charcoal.

This site appears to be a late well, used in the third and fourth centuries.

Site 3. In the south-east barrack-block of the later fort, where we sunk pits to determine the original state of the ground and the amount of filling-up done by the second-century builders, we found the following:—

Mortarium with roll club-headed and strongly turned down. By the analogy of P.B., plate IV., 9, R.W. 42, 98, it seems that this type is dated to the third quarter of the second century. It is, I should say, earlier than nos. 28-30 in the 1914 Ambleside report [11]. Flanged mortarium, late 3rd century? [16].

Cooking-pot of a familiar late second and third century type [30]; and one of a rather later type [27].

Pieces of two pitted jars (4th century). Inconsiderable Samian fragments.

Site 4. In the south-east corner, a previously disturbed site, we found one very small fragment of a bowl of the early cylindrical shape (Drag. 30), associated with Samian of a later type, of East Gaulish manufacture (Fig. 4, no. 4). Fragments of a late 31 and of a "pie-dish" bowl were also found here.

Site 5. In a low stratum east of the S. gate, definitely associated with the earlier fort, we found the following:—

Samian, fragment of 37 with hunter and lion (Fig. 4, no. 3; this must have belonged to the level immediately above). Fragments of 27 with graffito A R (?) Fragments of Castor and of hard gritty (early) coarse ware resembling first-century fabrics. A mortarium of an interesting type not unlike P.B., plate IV., no. 3 (period I.) but looking earlier. Clay rather hard and sandy, traces of a red slip; quartz grit, much of which is incorporated in the fabric and appears on the outside and in the rim. I am inclined to place this in the first century; but it is, I think, a type not hitherto published [3].

Site 6. High stratum at the same point.

Mortarium, roll rim, Hadrianic: typical of earliest strata in milecastles and turrets (see R.W. and P.B. types) [9].

Club-headed mortarium, like that described above [11]: late second century.

Hammer-headed mortaria: one like no. 40, 1914 report; one flanged, somewhat like no. 34, *ibid.* [18]; one like no. 43 [19]; one approximating to 51 [20] and one approximating to 44 [22].

Cooking pot very like R.W. 34 (late third or early fourth century); and one like R.W. 23 (same period). These types, however, are difficult to date closely.

Bowl resembling a mortarium in shape [42] like Hardknot 45 —perhaps Hadrianic. Also of the common flanged-rim type like P.B., plate v., 19 (third century, or early fourth). One "pie-dish."

Figured Samian: one piece of East Gaulish ware; one of Lezoux with legs of figure, one ditto with warrior on horseback (Fig. 4, nos. 1, 11, 9). A coarse 33, with the stamp FIRMVS.FE (a second-century potter of Heiligenberg, Forrer no. 21; wares found in the Antonine fort at Newstead).

Some rims of pitted jars.

Piece of a square glass bottle.

Here, then, we have a typical series from Hadrian to the fourth century.

Site 7. Under the floor of the commandant's house we found fragments of a large olla and of two bowls, not accurately datable but possibly Hadrianic and dating from the building of the house.

Site 8. In clearing a section of the ditch outside the S.E. corner of the fort (section 8) we found a quantity of pottery which appeared to belong to the later fort, with trifling exceptions. The two ditches coincide at this point, and it is not possible to distinguish the deposits.

The most interesting pot is a beaker with a sharply downturned lip. I do not know this type, but it looks to me as if it might be first century [41]. No. 34 in the 1913 Report (a common late type) is not a parallel.

Two cooking pots, perhaps end of second or third century [28, 29].

Two "pie-dish" bowls, one with cross-broaching on outside. One dish resembling P.B., plate v., 21 (period III.) [36].

A much corroded strip of iron, possibly part of a sword-blade, was found here.

A flat plate of shale, lathe-turned, with very slight beading to represent rim and foot.

Site 9. A characteristic late deposit from the gutter and surface of the road outside the S.E. barracks of the second fort contains a hammer-head mortarium [23] rather like 45 of the 1914 Report; one piece of pitted rim; a dish of type 11, 1913 Report; a little Samian; and three pieces of the well-

known type of cooking pot with wavy line below lip (no. 61 in 1914 Report); this last probably introduced from a second-century level.

Site 10. In the western section (retentura) of the later fort, outside the site of the early fort and well above its level, an early type of mortarium [5] probably Hadrianic.

Site 11. Section 6 across the defences of the earlier fort. The pottery is probably late, and its position here due to the plough or other disturbance.

Large jar, sandy grey ware [33]. I do not know a datable parallel.

Poor quality figured Samian, East Gaulish (Fig. 4, no. 6).

Site 12. North-east barracks, high level (second fort).

Figured Samian, Lezoux, with vine leaf (Fig. 4, no. 7).

Castor.

Late roll-rim mortarium, rather like 32 in 1914 Report = B.F. 18, probably not earlier than the middle of the third century [14].

Bowl type P.B., v., 19.

Cooking-pot of common type much like [27].

Site 13. Disturbed site north of granary:—

Mortarium [12] perhaps middle second-century. Buff, much grit in fabric and rim.

Bowl [37] with rivet-hole. Grey sandy clay P.B., plate III. 31 (2nd century); Ambleside 1914, 2. Possibly Hadrianic.

A square piece of lead 1″ by $1\frac{1}{4}$″ by $\frac{3}{8}$″. Much oxidised.

Site 14. Bottom of the early ditch, S.W. corner, Section 2.

Fragment of Castor beaker, type R.W. 25.

Part of the neck of a jug, grey sandy ware.

Part of the base of a Samian 18, good hard fabric.

Five pieces of leather (calf), from the waste of a shoemaking industry.

Site 15. South-east corner, high level above the ditch (disturbed).

Part of a Samian 38.

Late mortarium [15] like P.B., plate v., 2, but without the fluting. B.F., 190 (dated by Bushe-Fox 3rd and 4th century; Corbridge) is not unlike, but I think earlier.

Site 16. North-east rampart of later fort. The pottery belongs definitely to the second fort.

Early mortarium [8]: hard red clay, buff slip, name DOCCE in square panel. Not later than the middle of the second century; almost certainly Hadrianic.

Assuming that DOCI (a stamp frequently found at Wroxeter on this type of mortarium) and DOCCE are stamps of the same potter, it is of interest to observe that Mr. Bushe-Fox concludes (Wroxeter Report for 1913, p. 47) that this potter (DOCI) belongs to the first half of the second century.

Figured Samian (Fig. 4, no. 5); part of a 31 with strongly outward-curving lip.

"Pie-dish" bowls.

Site 17. North gateway of early fort.

Mortarium of type "Hardknot B": very hard clay, red, grey in centre, somewhat sandy: buff slip: quartz grit, occurring also in the fabric and in rim [1]. Typically first-century alike in type and fabric. There is nothing like it in the milecastles or turrets: but it strongly recalls the Flavian Corbridge 12. Similar mortaria were found in the guard-chambers of the east gate (early fort) in 1913 (1913 Report, 38-40, and possibly also 41-46): at the time of finding them, excessive caution led me into the error of describing them as Hadrianic, but I now think they cannot be later than 100, and are probably Agricolan. A comparison of the Papcastle mortaria (which I published without comment in 1913: these *Trans.*, N.S. xiii., p. 140) convinces me that Papcastle, like Ambleside, was a first-century fort in the first place.

Mortarium, same type: clay rather softer than the preceding, internal surface of vessel bright red, external duller red: traces of buff slip: grit in fabric and rim (quartz). This belongs to the same series as the preceding, though it is perhaps not so indisputably Flavian in fabric. There is, however, nothing in it inconsistent with an Agricolan date and it seems to me certainly too early for Hadrian [2].

Base of a jug, hard sandy clay, first-century appearance.

Site 18. Ditch immediately east of North Gate of early fort.

Figured Samian: one sherd of a 37, rim and fragment of ovolo and design (Fig. 4, no. 8). Colour and shape resemble early 37's of South Gaulish manufacture.

Carinated bowl of familiar type, as P.B., plate III., 4-6. Sandy grey [34] ware containing much quartz: black surface. This appears to me more like Hadrianic types (A.D. 120-150 only, at Poltross Burn) than the corresponding Flavian forms (Corbridge 1911, 4-7). It was deposited, I presume, when the early ditch was being filled.

Small fragment of jug-rim, possibly Agricolan.

Site 19. Ditch of early fort, east of N. gate (section 6).

Fragment of a very thin Drag. 18, and one of (apparently) the rim of a Drag. 32. Rim of a Hadrianic carinated bowl, or of a later "pie-dish."'

Site 20. Courtyard of Commandant's house, second fort.

Second-century mortarium, illegible stamp. Fragment of cooking-pot, 2nd or 3rd cent. Bowl, type P.B., v., 19, perhaps 4th century. Hammer-head mortarium, not unlike 1914 type 50 = Bushe-Fox type 190; probably fourth century.

Site 21. South-east barracks of later fort.

Samian, many fragments of 31, 33, 37: one decorated fragment, soft and whitish clay, medallions.

Mortaria: one like [8] above, with illegible stamp; perhaps piece of the same vessel, with stamp DOCCE. First half of second century. One "Rhaetian," see 1914 Report no. 27. One wall-sided, as 1914 Report no. 54: late 4th century.

Cooking pots: one as no. [28] above; one as no. [30] but heavier: one like P.B., III., 16.

Bowls: one imitation Samian Drag. 38: one "pie-dish": one as 1913 no. 10; one rather like R.W. 123 (3rd period).

One lid (?) [39].

Three pieces of pitted ware.

POTTERY FOUND IN 1920.

The only productive site was the chamber to the south of the east gate (second fort). Here, besides the greater part of a second-century decorated Samian bowl, we found the coarse pots nos. [6], [7], [10], [26], [31], [38].

[6]. Mortarium, red, traces of buff slip. Very like P.B., IV., 5 (period IA = A.D. 120-158); P.B., IV., 6; R.W. 98 (High House milecastle, first period). A shade later than any Hardknot type. Hadrianic.

[7]. Mortarium, red, buff slip, red and white grit. Very like Ambleside 1913, 42; both are perhaps Flavian. Wall sites yield no parallel, but the general type is a good deal like Hardknot 11. Possibly an intrusion from the earlier fort.

[10]. Mortarium, reddish buff: quartz grit, some in rim: type Hardknot C, but looks later than any of the Hardknot specimens and is probably Hadrianic.

[26]. Necked cooking pot, wavy line round neck: second quarter of 2nd century.

[31]. Jug: red clay, buff slip. Second-century type: *cf.* Corbridge 1911, 94-5-7-8-9.

[38]. Friable grey bowl. An early second-century type: *cf.* Hardknot 43. Probably Hadrianic.

This chamber thus appears from the pottery to date from the earliest years of fort B and to have been abandoned in the later second century. Nothing in it can be dated much later than 180 or thereabouts; and the great majority of the pottery is Hadrianic.

A hearth of fort A, south of the granary of B and falling at the north end of the south-west centurial block in Fig. 1, yielded no. [4]: mortarium, red, buff slip, white grit; a first-century type.

Number [32] was found 2 feet 3 inches below the surface, underneath the Hadrianic level, beside the *via praetoria.* [16] is like Ambleside 1913, 2 and 6, and Hardknot 42, and probably belongs to the first-century occupation, though R.W. 80, which faintly resembles it, suggests an Antonine date. Reddish buff beaker, with mica in fabric.

[24] and [25]: hammer-head mortaria, 18″ down, late level, gutter of *via praetoria.*

[13]: late type of roll rim mortarium, same region. Corbridge 1911, 102; late 2nd century.

[40]: beaker, notched rim: platform of granary. Late second century.

[43]: painted bowl, same site. Fourth century?

[44]: Necked black cooking-pot, from the Hadrianic temporary occupation-level beneath the *via praetoria* of B which has been discussed in detail above.

Figured Samian.

Fig. 4, nos. 1-11. All shape Dragendorff 37. The series numbers of sites refer to the preceding section.

1. Site 6. Very soft clay, bad glaze of which hardly a trace remains on the outside. Fragment of a Drag. 37, with circles containing four-pointed star alternating with upright panels containing a conventional frond. East Gaulish fabric: the potter Janus of Heiligenberg in Alsace uses circles like this containing a six-pointed star.

2. Site 1. Fine hard fabric, bright good glaze. Several fragments of a 37, ornament divided horizontally into two friezes. Dolphin, Déchelette 1050, common on vessels by Albucius and Paternus, and used by several other potters of the same period. Mars (?) resting on spear: not in Déch. but *cf.* his type 88. Seahorse, Déch. 33, used frequently by Mammilius

and Paternus. Venus pudica, standing on human mask (the impression of the latter is not clear, but the cut in Déch. shows what it ought to be) used by Aunus and Libertus. This is therefore a bowl of Lezoux fabric of the middle second century, possibly by Paternus.

3. Site 5. Good fabric, hard clay, bright glaze, sharp modelling. Type Déch. 624, described by him as hunter or *bestiarius*

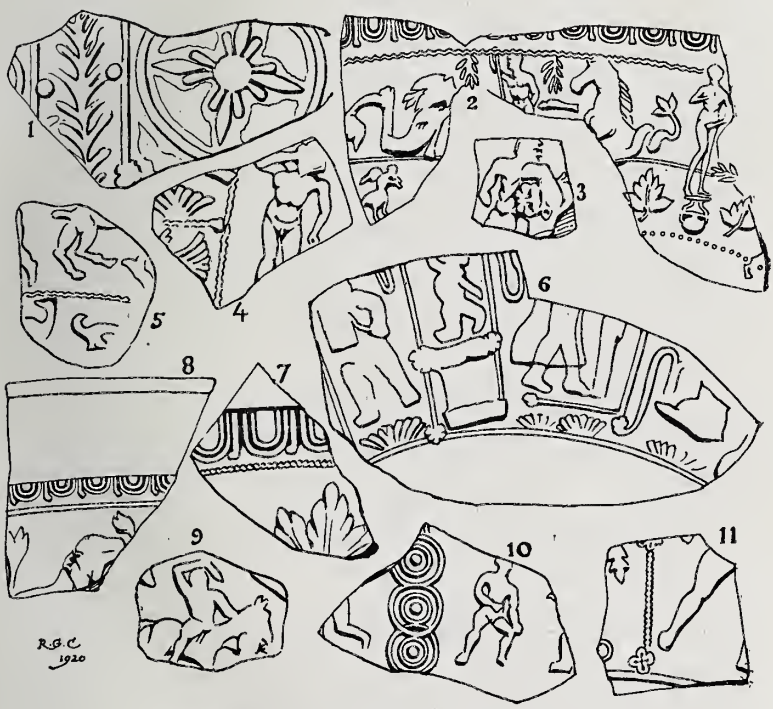

FIG. 4.—FIGURED SAMIAN (½).

devoured by a lion. Lezoux; the type is used by Mammilius.

4. Site 4. East Gaulish fabric: male figure raising r. hand to head, conventional leaf or grass pattern. Somewhat resembles the style of Ciriuna (Heiligenberg) in treatment of human figure.

5. Site 16. Soft clay, poor quality. Animals above, birds below: probably East Gaulish.

6. Site 11. A very late and debased East Gaulish 37, with extremely clumsy figures. The gladiator on l. resembles Forrer,

Heiligenberg und Ittenweiler, plate XL., 14, described by him as belonging to the latest period at Heiligenberg. The female figure in the centre recalls late East Gaulish versions of the Diana type.

7. Site 12. Large vine leaves: a common Lezoux pattern.

8. Site 18. Rather thin fabric, dark red. Modelling somewhat delicate. The decoration appears to be the top of the head and neck of an animal, probably a lion, but is not further capable of identification.

9. Site 6. Associated with the East Gaulish bowl no. 1. Very soft clay, poor glaze almost entirely disappeared. Warrior on horseback armed with short sword, about to strike at an enemy behind him and on his right. Déch. 157, Lezoux type, in common use by Paternus, and also used by Albucius, Banuus, Eppillius, &c. From Déchelette's cut it appears that the horse should be looking back at the enemy.

10. Site 4. Associated with no. 4, the East Gaulish bowl resembling the work of Ciriuna. Boxer: series of circles each containing an inner circle and boss concentrically. Probably by Ciriuna, and certainly of East Gaulish origin: *cf.* Forrer, *Heiligenberg und Ittenweiler*, plate XX.

11. Site 6. Associated with no. 1 and no. 9. Legs of male figure, probably fighting, striding r.; either a Hercules or a warrior or gladiator. Resembles Déch. nos. 459, 471, 625, 627. Lezoux.

It will be observed that though the defences of the early fort were the chief object of our investigations, no figured Samian of the early fort was discovered in 1915.

III.—The Roman Road from Ambleside to Wrynose.

This stage of road does not appear to have been traced before, and there is no published description of it; I therefore venture to suggest a reconstruction.

The distance between the fort at Ambleside and the summit of the pass is exactly six miles in a straight line, but the distance by road is necessarily a good deal longer. The straightness normally shown by Roman roads in a flat country is here not to be expected: the country is mountainous and contains streams which cannot everywhere be crossed.

For a third of a mile due west from the Ambleside fort the ground is entirely marsh, which must have been even less penetrable in the Roman period than it is now.

Further, it was intersected by two powerful streams, either separate or united, much too deep to ford. If the Romans wished to take their road across here in the direct line for Wrynose they must have built a heavy causeway nearly half a mile long, and one or two bridges. The ground shows no trace of such works, vestiges of which would certainly survive if they had ever existed. We may therefore infer that the Roman road went up the left bank of the Rothay, through flat and swampy meadows for about 300 yards, to Rothay Bridge, the first point where the river Rothay offers an easy crossing. A corduroy road of Roman date was discovered on this line in 1900 (these *Trans.*, N.S. ii., pp. 30-37) evidently leading from the neighbourhood of the east gate to that of Rothay Bridge.

After crossing the Rothay (presumably by a ford) the road must have taken the line of the modern road to Clappersgate. Here the question arises whether it crossed to the right bank of the Brathay or kept to the left or Westmorland bank. The following points bear on this question: (1) The south (right) bank gives the more direct route. Consequently this is the more likely bank. (2) West of Skelwith, the road certainly was on the south bank. But on the other hand (3) no trace of any road along the south bank has been seen, though the opportunities for observation are extremely good. For quite half a mile east of Skelwith there are open sloping meadows in which the road, if it were there, could hardly escape notice*. There is no footpath, no

* My own survey of the ground has been supplemented by the following, for which I am indebted to the kindness of Miss Cordelia Marshall of Skelwith Fold:—"Enquiry has produced no evidence of a possible Roman road across Skelwith Fold Farm. A fair number of the fields have been ploughed during the last thirty years, but no one seems to remember a band of hard

line of farm-houses such as we find in Little Langdale, in short no trace of any kind. (4) The Brathay had to be crossed somewhere, and Skelwith is a much easier crossing than Clappersgate. In fact, Skelwith is the first really easy ford which one reaches while ascending the Brathay from its mouth.

I conclude that the Roman road followed the left (north) bank of the Brathay to Skelwith, taking the line of the modern road, which though an important coach-road is not a new line, but is undoubtedly a very old line from Waterhead to Skelwith.

At Skelwith the Brathay is easily fordable just above the modern bridge, and here I presume the Roman road crossed the river.

A quarter of a mile south-west of this point I find the first actual traces of the old road. The coach-road from Skelwith to Coniston climbs steeply up the hill to a much greater height than is necessary either to approach the houses (which are all below it) or to cross the hill, which would be more easily crossed, and in a shorter line further north. This anomaly is explained by the fact that the summit-stretch of the road is Roman. From the very top of Skelwith hill to the brow above Colwith the modern road is on the Roman line ; on the summit the two diverge, the Roman road still mounting slightly before it begins to descend to Skelwith, the other descending at once. The Roman road plunges into a dense coppice, where it is just visible as a terrace striking across the hill and dipping upon the modern road where the road from Bull Close enters it. From this point to Skelwith the two, I think, coincide.

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stuff anywhere. The line you suggested [i.e. the fairly direct line, south of the river, between Brathay and Skelwith] takes you into some rather soft ground. A short length of the road between us and Brathay Church is often under water, and the river floods up at the back of the church some way in the fields." From this it appears that the seemingly natural line is out of the question.

At the brow above Colwith the modern road swings round to the south for Coniston ; the Roman road has to go straight on. But a deep lateral valley lies in its way. Into this it descends by turning boldly to the north and skirting down the hill at a gradient of 1 in 4. It is here very conspicuous as a steeply-sloping terrace cut out of the hillside. Just before reaching the brow known as Scar Coppice, which falls abruptly into the Brathay below Colwith, the road makes a hairpin turn to the left and continues its descent. It now crosses the modern Colwith road close to the foot of its steep hill, and continues S.S.W. as a grassy lane between stone walls, descending into the lateral valley above-mentioned, which enters the Brathay at Colwith. Arrived at the bottom of this valley it fords the two streams which drain it and turning N.W. climbs once more. Its course is here marked by a stone wall dividing rough moorland to S.W. from coppice to N.E. : the road is sometimes on one side of the wall and sometimes on the other, but soon swings round to the west in a curve enclosed by a right angle between two walls. Here a gradient of 1 in 3 has been at some period modified by the addition of a loop reducing it to 1 in 5. At the top of this loop a stone wall is crossed, on the N. side of which runs the footpath from Colwith Bridge to High Park farm. The Roman road can easily be made out sometimes to north of this footpath, sometimes coinciding with it.

For some 300 yards west of High Park the Roman road coincides with the modern road to Stang End. After this they part, the Roman road being very conspicuous as a metalled causeway in the fields north of the modern road, and about 8 feet wide. It passes close under the walls of Stang End farm, which lies to the south of it (the front door, in fact, still opening towards the Roman road, though the modern road is on the other side of the house), and then appears to curve first to the

right and then to the left, descending the slope from Stang End to the river. On reaching the river it disappears, but is seen again 200 yards to the west, where it appears as a flat bed of very hard gravel lying in the river itself, and emerging a few inches from its waters near the right bank.

This section of road lying in the Brathay is only 20-30 yards east of the footbridge and ford by which the road from Tilberthwaite crosses the river; it is therefore, though grass-grown, very conspicuous and was the first portion of the road to be discovered. Its position in the river is due to the fact that the Brathay here makes a strong left-handed bend, and has obviously eroded its right bank a good deal in what, for geology, is a very short space of time. The Romans found a flat space between the river and Pierce How, the conical hill that stands above the stream, and along this they built their road. The river has now destroyed most of the road, but a section 60 feet long by about 10 wide, of good rammed gravel, is still to be seen, though this too is gradually being eaten away. At the east end, where all the metal has gone, the large stones with which the road was bottomed are visible in the water, terminated on the south by a neatly-laid row of kerbstones.

Above the modern ford the road appears still to lie on the very edge of the river; but it soon begins to ascend the slopes to the left hand. All traces of this ascent for about a quarter of a mile have been obliterated by the spoil banks of a large quarry, but further on, due south of Slater Bridge (which has sometimes been erroneously described as Roman), the road can be seen as a terrace of stones, mounting at a gentle gradient. Immediately afterwards another quarry has completely destroyed it. West of this second quarry a modern field-road appears to claim a Roman origin: but its line and its construction make this impossible. The true line is somewhat higher

up the slope, and strikes a modern road once more at High Hall Garth, the third of the old farms which mark the line of the Roman road in Little Langdale. West of this the road is easily traced ; it soon joins the path from Tilberthwaite to Fell Foot, and follows it to Bridge End.

The direct line from this point would be across Greenburn Beck and up the true right of Wrynose Bottom. But no trace of a road can be found here, and it seems more reasonable to suppose that the Romans crossed the Brathay, now a small stream, at Fell Foot and took the easier line, like all subsequent road-builders, up the true left or north side. Indeed, there are places here where an old road is visible which may be Roman in origin, though no doubt reconstructed. The present road, though not now fit for wheeled traffic except of the roughest kind, is of modern origin and departs here and there from the line which is probably Roman.

On the summit of Wrynose it is possible to distinguish four roads : the modern, though now dilapidated, carriage-road ; an earlier cart-track ; a third which is probably a mediaeval pony-track, and fourth, which is perhaps the Roman road. All these appear to have run in the same direction, and none shows any sign of taking the direct line by the south bank of the Brathay to join the Roman road at or near Bridge End.

IV.—The Date of Hardknot Castle.

When Haverfield in 1915 suggested the identification of the Ravenglass-Kendal road with the Tenth Iter, making Ravenglass and Ambleside the first two stations (Clanoventa, Galava), the question at once suggested itself to the mind of any reader, Why should Hardknot be omitted ? Hardknot stands actually on the road, and its strong position makes it an unlikely place to be overlooked by any compiler of road-books. It was doubtless never a large station, and the picturesque situation

which saved it from destruction by the plough or by stone-robbing, and thus helped in more ways than one to draw upon it the attention of antiquaries, made it, possibly, a less important place to the Romans than either of its neighbours: but its omission, though by no means unparalleled, suggests the possibility that when the Itineraries were drawn up it was already abandoned. If so, its omission is explained and the one objection to Haverfield's interpretation of the Tenth Iter is removed.

These questions had occurred to myself some time ago, and it seemed to me that they could now be settled at a very small expenditure of time and trouble by thoroughly examining the Hardknot pottery. At the time when the fort was excavated (1889-1893) it was impossible to date sites by pottery evidence: for the dating of Samian was very little understood even in the later nineties, and the dating of the so-called "coarse pottery" was only begun by the work of Mr. James Curle at Newstead (1905-1908) and carried to something like a provisional completeness by various workers in the years 1909-1912. It is now possible to date a mass of coarse pottery with reasonable accuracy, especially in the second century and the latter part of the first: a thing which was impossible till a few years ago.

I did not know to what extent the Hardknot pottery had been preserved, and whether enough had been kept to make such an analysis as I proposed a possibility; but an opportunity arising in September, 1920, I obtained leave from Sir John Ramsden of Muncaster Castle, and proceeded, with much invaluable help from Mr. Alexander Watt, the agent at Muncaster, to inspect the pottery. I found that it had all been preserved, even the least promising potsherds having been scrupulously collected, in many cases neatly packed in paper parcels and labelled by the hand of Mr. C. W. Dymond or the Rev. W. S.

Calverley, the directors of the excavations, and the whole carefully preserved in cases by the late Lord Muncaster. Historians owe a debt of the liveliest gratitude to these men, who, long before such evidence could be deciphered, and while most excavators were cheerfully throwing away everything of the kind except a few show-pieces which happened to be more or less whole, spent time and trouble to preserve for our use several thousand fragments of pottery, which in their reports could only figure as "twenty pounds of coarse pottery found in this site," and so forth. Thanks to their forethought I was able to examine I believe every potsherd yielded by the excavations. A few had been examined by Haverfield in 1910, but none of the parcels had been opened by him, and he was unable to do more than note the general early character of the types. I drew a hundred of the most interesting types, and of these drawings 83 are here reproduced, the remainder being practically duplicates.

The problem of dating the occupation of Hardknot depends for its solution entirely on the coarse pottery. The amount of Samian found is curiously small. It might be suspected that the better specimens of figured Samian have been put out for inspection in the castle at Muncaster and lost or destroyed: but I can trace nothing of the sort as having happened, and the published reports not only mention no other pieces than those I have seen, but comment on the scarcity of Samian. There is only one potter's mark, and one piece of figured ware with a more or less datable type. One of these suggests the early second century, but the other speaks with an uncertain voice. The potter's stamp is RVFFI.M on a dish of the shape Dragendorff 18. This is a potter ascribed by Déchelette (*Vases céramiques ornées de la Gaule romaine*, vol. I., p. 84) to La Graufesenque, and therefore belonging to the first century: on the other hand, his

wares occur in the Newstead deposits of A.D. 140-180. Here, then, no conclusion seems to be warranted. The figured Samian (Drag. 37) bears a lion running to the right, Déchelette's type 736; this is a Lezoux type, and was found at Wroxeter (1913) in a deposit dated A.D. 80-130.

This evidence suggests—but it does not prove—that Hardknot was built not later than the Hadrianic period. The coin evidence points in the same direction. The only legible coins that were found seem to have been two silver Republican coins, one of Antony and one family coin bearing the name Longinus, a brass of Trajan, and a denarius of Domitian dated to A.D. 95.

From these data it would not be possible to reconstruct the history of the fort. Nor is the one recorded inscription which is said to have run . . . GRIC . . LA . . COH . . . much more valuable. It appears to mention one Agricola, in command of a cohort; but if that is so, the Agricola cannot be either the great Julius or the Calpurnius of a later date.

The coarse pottery, however, is an unusually interesting series. The most striking feature about it is the entire absence of all late types such as hammer-headed or wall-sided mortaria, pitted ware, and so forth. The prevailing types are as follows.

Of the mortaria there are three types: (A) thin, hard vessels with wide, flat and very thin rims, very slightly convex. This is a well-known type of the late first century. (B) The rim rather more curved, sometimes hooked over at the end, but always more or less in a line with the side of the vessel, never at an angle: the bead as a rule distinctly lower than the highest part of the rim. This again is a late first-century type, lasting some little way into the second century. (C) The rim springing from the side at an angle, and bending strongly downwards, but the highest part still above the level of the bead. This is a type of the early second century.

Of bowls the only common pattern is the "carinated," i.e. that with an oblique portion intervening between the upright (cylindrical) side and the flat bottom. This is a late first-century type lasting into the early second century.

Of jars (using that term to cover *ollae*, cooking-pots and beakers) there are three noteworthy types. (A) Very common indeed is a beaker with a very small rim and a groove below it. (B) Very common also is the cooking-pot or *olla* with lip set on at a sharp angle to the shoulders. Both these are late first-century types which survive into the second century. (C) Less common, but important for the question of date, is the cooking-pot with a short neck between the shoulder and the lip. This is a second-century type, surviving into the third century and, it is usually believed, not occurring much before the middle of the second century.

These are the commonest types; and it may be said at once that the rarer types do nothing to weaken the inference to which these lead, that Hardknot was built in the late first century and abandoned probably not later than the middle of the second: after which it was never used again by the Romans. Thus the problem of the Antonine Itinerary is solved by the most cursory glance at the pottery: whatever view one takes of the exact dating of that document—a question which need not be raised here—there can be no shadow of doubt that it was drawn up after Hardknot had ceased to be an occupied site. It is noteworthy that it ceased not only to be a regular fort, but to be used at all: not even a wayside meal has left its mark in the shape of a later potsherd or coin dropped under the shelter of the walls.

Coming to closer grips with the problem of dating, there are three questions to be answered: the date of first occupation, the continuity of the occupation and the date of its close. As to the first of these questions,

it seems to me not unreasonable to ascribe it to the campaigns of Agricola.* The evidence on which I would lay special stress for this is the early types ot mortaria. The extreme earliness of types 1-4 is to my mind very striking. They are certainly not later than the Corbridge Flavian mortaria (Corbridge 1911 Report, fig. 5, 12 and 13), in fact they seem to me to be typologically earlier: only one mortarium from Ambleside (1913 Report, 38) and one from Papcastle (Report, *d*) can be put in the same class with them, and Bushe-Fox's series of mortarium-types contains nothing which seems so early.

These four (which I called group A) are the earliest relics from Hardknot. The great majority of the mortaria (nos. 5-20) belong to group B. The general type of these is something like Bushe-Fox's no. 46, dated by him to 100 A.D. and thereabouts. The variation between slender and delicately-shaped vessels like 5 or 11 and very coarse soft ones like 16, all obviously belonging to the same type, is characteristic of early pottery, and is found but rarely in the second century and later. The slight hump between the bead and the roll, in nos. 7 and 10, is a feature not figured in Bushe-Fox's list or in any publication I have seen: nor have I met a previous case. Number 15 is a small mortarium-shaped bowl, figured here for comparison with the mortaria to which its rim typologically belongs. The groove outside the roll of

* On examining my drawings of the pottery, Mr. Bushe-Fox, whose opinion in such matters is of the very greatest weight, said that these 'Type A' mortaria, though they might easily be even earlier than Agricola and as old as A.D. 70, might on the other hand, he thought, be in use down to the end of the first century. He therefore argued that the ascription of Hardknot to Agricola was not yet proved, and that it might have been one of a series of forts erected c. 100-110, of which series Throp and Haltwhistle Burn are late examples. I fully admit the possibility of this view, in the sense that I do not claim to have fixed the beginning of Hardknot within nearly such close limits as its end. The question can only be settled by further advances in our knowledge of coarse pottery; but the small number of the very early types favours Mr. Bushe-Fox's suggestion.

FIG. 5.—HARDKNOT: MORTARIA AND JUGS (½).

no. 20 is a well-known feature which according to Mr. Bushe-Fox (see his series, 70-78) came in towards the end of the first century and lasted well into the second. In the Hardknot specimen it occurs on a rim that cannot date much after A.D. 100.

Number 21 is tending towards group C, which is fully developed in nos. 22-24. This type belongs to the first half of the second century: but not only is it rare at Hardknot, but in comparing these Hardknot examples with ones from Hadrian's Wall, it is easy to see that the former are on the whole earlier patterns. Examples occur in the lowest levels at Birdoswald turret (R.W. 1-3), but these look distinctly later than the Hardknot specimens. Similarly, in group B, parallels may be found in the lowest levels (A.D. 120-158) at the Poltross Burn milecastle (P.B. IV., 4, 5); but the Hardknot types look the earlier.

In fact, it is significant that of the forts on or close to the Wall the only one which had yielded an exact parallel to any of the Hardknot types is the Haltwhistle Burn fort, from which comes a mortarium (Report: no. 3) definitely belonging to type "Hardknot B," and hardly distinguishable from our no. 6.

Two mortaria bear maker's names: 22 is marked NSDB (Ambleside, 1914, Agricolan?), 19 is marked AXI (*cf.* Wroxeter 1913 no. 43, on an early type).

The evidence of the mortaria is thus precise and clear. They indicate an occupation beginning late in the first century and going straight on through the reign of Trajan, but ending about the time the Wall was built. The great majority of Hardknot mortaria belong to a type represented at Haltwhistle Burn (A.D. 110 or 115-120, roughly) but not on the Wall (after 120): the earliest types seem to be Agricolan: the latest seem to be earlier versions of types current after A.D. 120. Making every possible allowance for the overlap of types and for the possible

longevity of an isolated pot here and there, this conclusion seems certain.

We now turn to the bowls. Here we have nothing except possibly number 27 which looks as early as Agricola: the majority of the vast number of carinated bowls are less like the Corbridge Flavian bowls (1911 Report, fig. 5, 4-7, with hard fine clay and delicately reeded rims) and more like the coarser late variants of the type found at Poltross Burn (P.B. III., 1-6). But at Poltross Burn the type is obviously a survival, and on other Wall sites it has hardly been found; whereas at Hardknot it is exceedingly common, and at least three examples (27, 28, 34) have something of the quality of the Flavian ware. Here again, then, the inference is a continuous occupation from late in the first century down to about the time when the carinated bowl first became rough and coarse and then disappeared—that is, down to A.D. 110-120.

Of the other bowls, 41 is a type found at Wroxeter in a deposit dated to A.D. 80-120; more than this I cannot say; it is a rare pattern. Number 43 is a shape which seems to belong to the first half of the second century: several have been found at Wroxeter in deposits of the period 100-130. Numbers 46 and 47 are examples of a very massive "casserole" with a flange handle all round: I know of no parallel, but the fabric reminds me strongly of first-century wares.

The evidence of the bowls thus bears out that of the mortaria: in fact, from the bowls alone one must have come to the same conclusion independently.

Finally, we turn to the various types of jar. The group 48-53 covers a very great number of specimens of types 48 and 49: the others are rare. These two types are familiar: they belong to the end of the first century and the beginning of the second. They occur in early deposits like that found at Corbridge in 1911, and they

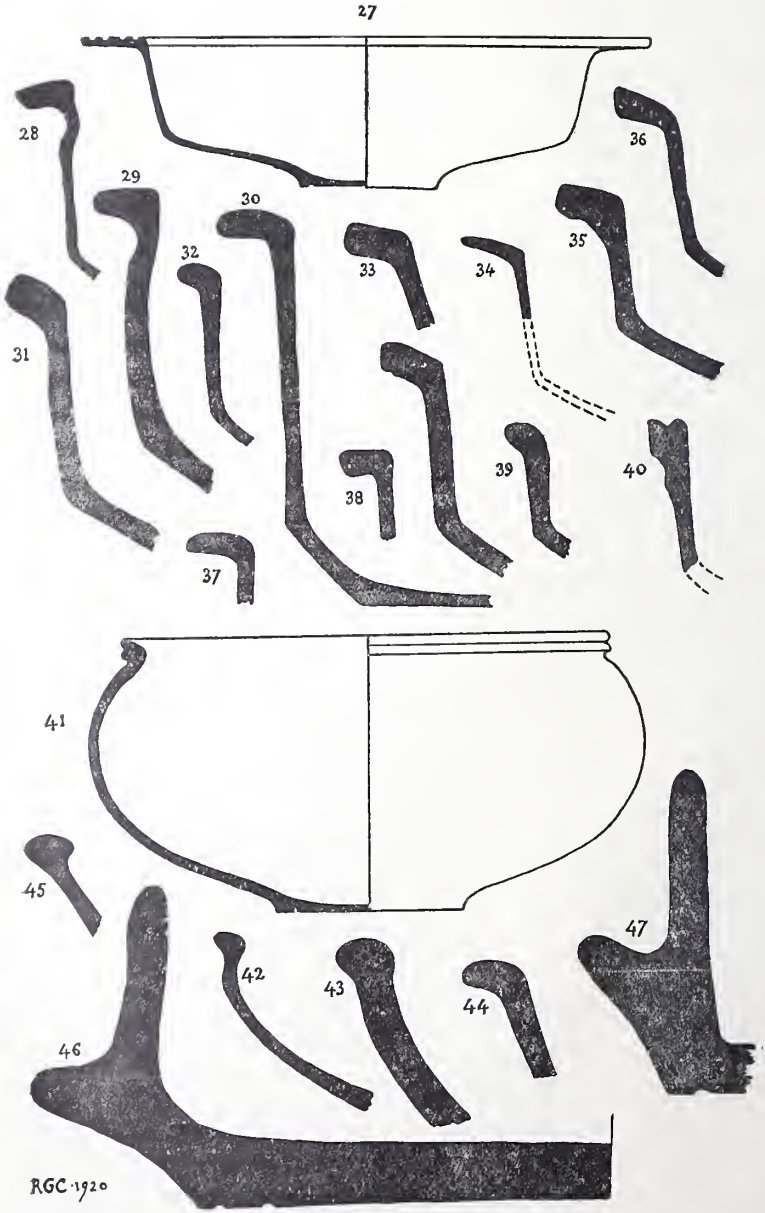

FIG. 6.—HARDKNOT : BOWLS (½).

just last into the reign of Hadrian, for a specimen of 49 was found in the lowest level at the Poltross Burn milecastle (P.B. III., 25). Here again we have a type very common at Hardknot, found in deposits of A.D. 80-120 at Corbridge and Wroxeter, found at the Haltwhistle Burn fort (where no. 11 = Hardknot 48) and just lingering on into the buildings of Hadrian's Wall.

The jars with a sharp angle between the lip and the shoulder fall into three groups: the upper face of the lip flat and the lower round or angular (54-60): both faces round, giving a bulbous section (61-67) and the lower face flat (68-73). These groups are not as a rule distinguished, and there is no reason to suppose that they differ in period. They are all first-century types lasting on into the second century, and gradually giving way before the necked type (74-78). Many can be accurately paralleled from Corbridge and Wroxeter deposits of A.D. 80-120 and other early sources: several are found in the lower strata on Hadrian's Wall.

The necked jars (74-78) are the crucial point in the dating of Hardknot. It is known that these jars appear before 150; but it is by no means clear that they are at all common before 120. I noticed at least half a dozen of them from Hardknot, probably more: and the whole question of the date at which Hardknot ceased to be occupied turns on the date at which these jars began to be used. On the one hand, it is to be noted that they very rarely occur in deposits before 120 at such sites as Wroxeter, Corbridge and Newstead: and this suggests that Hardknot was occupied after 120, that is to say, that it was a part of the Hadrianic network of forts.

It is very difficult to believe that this was the case. If Hardknot had been occupied from 120 to 180, or even to 158, we should have found a much larger proportion of second-century stuff among the pottery. The Hardknot pottery, with very few exceptions, consists of first-

century types lingering on into the second century: it is overwhelmingly Flavian-Trajanic in character. A glance at any collection of mid-second-century pottery such as the 120-158 deposit from the various Wall sites will show this: in such a collection the earlier types are like those from Hardknot, while the main body of the types are not represented there at all. In a question of this kind the total bulk of specimens carries more conviction than the analysis of any single pattern: and the convic-

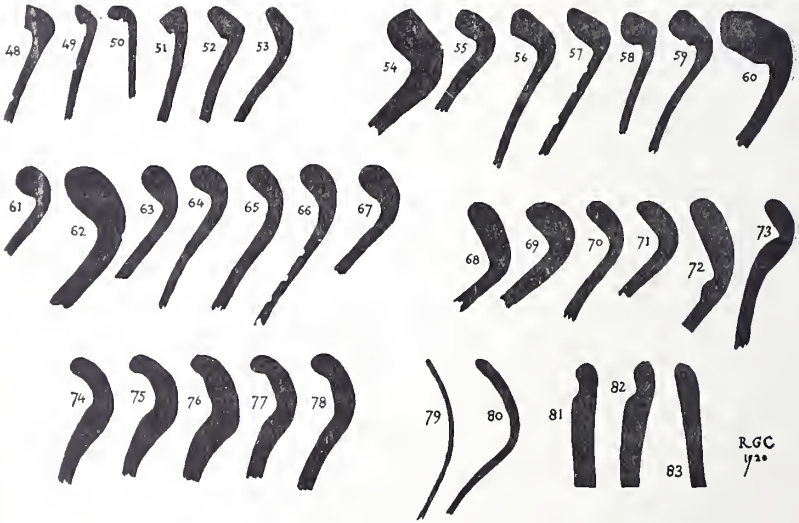

FIG. 7.—HARDKNOT: JARS, ETC. (½).

tion left by an examination of the pottery as a whole is that there cannot have been a Hadrianic re-occupation of Hardknot.

But this impression or conviction is very insecure unless some explanation can be found for the presence of necked jars. In this connexion it is useful to return to the Haltwhistle Burn Fort. Here we have a fort dated by Mr. Simpson 110 or 115-120, and I am not aware that the date has been challenged: but it contains, in a relatively small quantity of pottery, two types of necked

jar (5 = Hardknot 75; 6 = Hardknot 76). In the contemporary Throp fort, again, there are two necked jars (15 = Hardknot 77; 16 = Hardknot 78). Here, it is true, a few late potsherds have crept into an otherwise early fort; but Mr. Simpson does not consider that 15 and 16 were among the number.

In the face of these four cases from Haltwhistle Burn and Throp, I do not think that it is necessary to demand a Hadrianic re-occupation for Hardknot. We are at liberty to accept the emphatic evidence of the other pottery, and to place the end of the occupation just before the building of the Wall and of such Hadrianic forts as the later structure at Ambleside.

This brings Hardknot into an extremely interesting series of sites whose history covers the dark period that lies between Agricola and Hadrian. Till a few years ago, the existence of these sites was unknown; it was thought that Agricola's forts were evacuated when he left the country, or at least very soon after, and the district so held abandoned by the Romans till Hadrian re-occupied them. But we have lately come to know that this was not the case. Several Agricolan forts, like Newstead on the Tweed and Inchtuthil in Strathmore, were occupied for a considerable time after 85; other forts, like Throp and Haltwhistle Burn, were actually added after the turn of the century. If, as we have suggested, Hardknot is Agricolan, it falls in with the former group; if its foundation dates 10 to 20 years later, it is evidence of a scheme of fortification carried out on a large scale not later than the year 100. In either case its significance is very great, and it gives fresh information about an extremely obscure period. We know that some of these early forts held on till they finally went under in the troubles that marked the end of Trajan's reign and the beginning of that of Hadrian—the troubles which culminated in the great rising when the Ninth Legion

was annihilated. Hardknot, it appears, held out longer than the more isolated forts further north: its pottery-series is longer than that of Newstead, and if it were not for the ominous disappearance of the Ninth Legion we might wonder whether it had ever fallen at all, or whether it had not held out till Hadrian's armies relieved it. But if it did fall, it fell a very short time before Hadrian's expedition, perhaps actually during Hadrian's reign.

It is also interesting to ask why, if Agricola, or one of his successors, wished to leave a garrison in this region, he chose to leave it at Hardknot, an inaccessible spot, with few strategic advantages. The answer must wait for further exploration. The early fort at Ambleside, we may suppose, was too wet and uncomfortable for long occupation: we know that it was flooded after its short occupation. At Ravenglass also there was an early fort, to judge by the fragment of a first-century mortarium I found on the shore below the Roman site; but whether that also was abandoned, or whether it and Hardknot—as would appear not unnaturally—were held concurrently, is a question which cannot be answered without excavating the terminus of the Tenth Iter, the fort of Clanoventa.

ART. II.—*The Travels of Sir Guilbert de Launoy in the North of England and elsewhere*, 1430. By COLONEL OLIVER H. NORTH, D.S.O.

Read at Carlisle, April 15th, 1920.

AFTER the Armistice I was quartered at the Château d'Auvaing, Hainault, Belgium, the residence of the Comte de Launoy, Master of the Household of H.M. the Queen of the Belgians. Among other interesting things, he showed me the old French MS. of the diary of his ancestor, Guilbert de Launoy, a great traveller, statesman and soldier.

In 1430 Sir Guilbert passed through Cumberland and Westmorland, coming from Scotland, and took boat at Cockersand, near Glasson Dock, for Ireland on a pilgrimage to St. Patrick's Purgatory. The Count has kindly copied the following extracts relating to the journey, with a biographical notice, which I think will prove of interest.

Guilbert de Launoy, born in 1386, began his career at the age of 13 in an expedition against the Isle of Wight; and hardly a year passed, until his death at the age of 76, without some event of military or diplomatic service. In 1401, on a second expedition against England, he was shipwrecked near St. Malo, and then for two years was travelling in Palestine, Egypt, Turkey and the Greek islands. After serving in the war on Liége in 1404 he went through two campaigns against the Moors of Spain; and in 1410 he was fighting the English in France. In 1413 he joined the Teutonic Knights in their attack on the Lithuanians and Esthonians, and was knighted in the August of that year.

In 1414 he made his first attempt at a pilgrimage to St. Patrick's Purgatory, a shrine which attracted many devotees from the middle of the 12th century to 1497, in the belief that the mystical experiences there undergone would afford them remission of their sins. The place was a cave on an island in Lough Derg in the west of Central Ireland, then a very wild country and to be reached only by a journey of the most arduous and adventurous kind. The experiences, after long prayer and fasting, were said to be at least awe-inspiring, if not dangerous; it was reported that some of the penitents never returned from the cave. But the efficacy of the rite was so widely accepted that people ventured from all parts of Christendom to attempt this hazardous purification. In 1497 the cave was destroyed by authority from the Pope; but annual pilgrimages were subsequently made to the site, and became scenes of disorder. In 1623 the Lords Justices ordered the demolition of all buildings on the island and the cult was transferred later to another island in Lough Derg where the ceremonies were re-established in the "Prison Chapel" of St. Patrick and the confessional chapel of St. Mary.

On his first attempt Sir Guilbert was captured by the English, and ransomed by his prince, Jean Sans Peur, Duke of Burgundy. He was wounded and taken prisoner again at the battle of Agincourt, 1415, to be ransomed a second time and to serve through the war which followed, but now on the English side to which the new Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, was an adherent. At the close of the fighting Sir Guilbert was sent to England to share in the negotiations for the Treaty of Troyes, by which Henry V. was recognized as King of France and his marriage with the French princess Catherine was arranged.

De Launoy was then created first chamberlain to the Duke of Burgundy, and in 1420 he was sent to the East

to collect intelligence for the duke and the two kings on the harbours and defences of Egypt and Syria, with a view to a new crusade. He returned in 1422 with his report, one copy of which was addressed to Henry V., whose death prevented the prosecution of an enterprise which might have had far-reaching effects on the history of the Near East. That copy of the report is among the Hatton MSS. in the British Museum; another copy, bought many years ago in Flanders, was described by Granville Penn in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, vol. I.

Sir Guilbert then served in Holland against the Duchess of Gloucester, and went on a mission to Germany in 1428. He was one of the original knights of the Golden Fleece in 1429, and next year made the successful pilgrimage to St. Patrick's Purgatory which is here described, followed by another pilgrimage to Santiago in Spain in 1437. After acting as ambassador to the German Emperor and to the French Dauphin, he and his brother were entrusted with the revision of the statutes of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Later, he reported as adviser to the duke on a proposal for a Grand Council or parliament. He made one more voyage to Palestine in 1459, and carried out negotiations at various European capitals for a combined attack on the Turks, which resulted in a series of naval victories during a campaign of three years.

Sir Guilbert de Launoy, captain of l'Ecluse, lord of Tronchiennes, Wattignies, Willervale, Beaumont, Wahagnies, la Motte and Maugré, died on April 2nd, 1462, and was buried in the church of St. Maurice at Lille. His celebrity as a traveller, diplomat and observer of men and manners, gives an especial interest to the brief record of his journey of 1430, though it adds to our regret that the details he has left are so meagre. They show, at any rate, the routes available to a stranger in the early half of the fifteenth century, and pay in passing an

interesting compliment to "merry Carlisle," where the Arthurian tradition was evidently a matter of local pride.

The Itinerary.

On March 4th, 1430, Sir Guilbert de Launoy left l' Ecluse [Sluis, near Bruges] on an embassy to the king of Scots, intending also to go on pilgrimage to St. Patrick's Purgatory in Ireland. Landing at Sandwich he passed through 'Hunditon' [Huntingdon] a walled town; 'Doncastre,' a large unfortified town on the river Don; York, a walled town with castle and archbishop's seat on the Ouse. Then by the port of Hull to Newcastle, a walled town with a castle on the Tyne; and thence to 'Bambourg' a very strong castle, with a village and priory upon a rock overlooking the sea, and Berwick, a walled and well garrisoned town with a strong castle on the Tweed which forms the boundary between England and Scotland. The town is on the Scottish side but belongs to the English.

Thence to 'Donbar,' a town ruined by the wars but possessing a strong castle on the shore of the sea; and to St. Andrews, a good town, not walled, with a fine church dedicated to St. Andrew, a fine castle, and the best bishop's seat in Scotland. Thence to 'St. Jehanstoen' [Perth], a good un-walled town with a Carthusian monastery on the Tay, and to Stirling, a fairly good market town, unwalled, on the Forth, which is crossed by a bridge. Here there is a very strong castle on a rock built, they say, by king Arthur. He stayed next at Dumfries, a good town, unwalled, on the Nith which falls into the Irish Sea at a distance of four miles.

Thence to Carlisle, a very pretty little town, enclosed with walls and possessing a very fine castle and cathedral. Here, it is said, King Arthur held his court and had his palace. The distance from Carlisle on the Irish Sea to 'Bervich' on the Flemish Sea is sixty miles the one to the other.

Thence to Lancaster, an unwalled town with a large castle, fairly fine, on the Lune; the tide comes up to the wharves, and this is the seat of a duchy. From hence to 'Conequessant' [Cockersand], an abbey of regular canons.

On May 22nd he crossed to Ireland and landed at 'Drouda' [Drogheda], a walled town on the Boyne three miles from the sea; the distance from Lancaster to Drogheda is 100 to 120 miles. Thence to Kells, a town very poorly fortified but still within the pale of the king of England on the frontier of the wild Irish;

here there is a poor abbey. Thence to 'Cavaen' [Cavan], a poor and unwalled town belonging to king 'Auraly' [O'Reilly] who lives in a poor tower above the town. Thence to 'Coloniensy' [Clones], a little village, going on foot through the forest because horses could not pass among the fallen trees, and as far as a great lake [Lough Erne] where the lordship of king Auraly ends and that of king 'Magmir' [? Maguire*] begins. It is said that this lake includes 160 islands, and empties itself into the North-western sea [Donegal Bay]. Thence to a village and an island named 'Rousseaux-Moustier' where dwells a chief who possesses 1500 boats, called Macanienus [? Macguinness*], a subject of king Macmir. He lent us a boat to go to St. Patrick's cave, and we visited several islands, very poor places with little ancient churches and poverty-struck abbeys, before reaching the island of St. Patrick's Purgatory, where there is a chapel of St. Patrick and four or five cottages. At twelve miles from this island there is a port for great ships, on the North-west, in the country of king 'Adrinlyoris' [? O'Clery*], king of the wild Irish, and this part is named Asroe [Assaroe, Ballyshannon].

From the cave of St. Patrick we returned to Drogheda and at a distance of 36 miles further we reached Dublin, a walled town with a very fine castle, square in plan and with waterless ditches. Here is the seat of justice for the king of England, who is the overlord of the Irish.

Thence by sea to Chester, a very good town, walled and with a very strong castle and keep on the Dee; to Lichfield, a very good little town, unwalled, but there is a cathedral very well secured at night and the most beautiful church in England, with a bishop's seat. Thence to 'Conventry' [Coventry], a very good market town, to Daventry, to Dunstable, to Saint Albans and to London. Thence we paid a visit to Queen Catherine [widow of Henry V.], who was at 30 miles distance from London in a pleasure-house named Plassiet [Pleshey, Essex], where there is a deer-park. We returned to London and thence travelled to Dover.

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* These identifications are kindly suggested by Canon James Wilson, Litt.D.

ART. III.—*The Eastern Fells. Part III.* By T. H. B. GRAHAM, M.A.

Communicated at Carlisle, April 15th, 1920.

THE road from Brampton to Appleby passes another series of villages, namely, Haresceugh, Unthank, Gamblesby, Melmerby, Ouseby and Kirkland, which must be taken into account in mapping the long escarpment of the Eastern Fells of Cumberland. Unthank and Gamblesby were both parcel of the ancient ecclesiastical parish of Addingham, and their early history is inseparable from that of Glassonby, in the same parish. Particulars concerning Melmerby occur elsewhere in these *Transactions.* After leaving Unthank, the original highway may have avoided the village of Gamblesby, and proceeded to Melmerby along the existing lane. Some interesting relics of the townfield in the vicinity of that lane are noticed in these *Transactions,* N.S. xiii., p. 10. The village stocks of Gamblesby remain *in situ.*

HARESCEUGH.

In the twelfth century, Ada Engayne gave land at Little Haresceugh, within her manor of Kirkoswald, to Lanercost Priory. The perambulation of its boundary began at the point where the highway from Appleby meets the Raven, and proceeded up the Raven to the head of that stream: then past Croscrim, Hartside and Swarthgill; along the water, which flows from Swarthgill to the moss: and then by the sike, which descends as far as Cannerheugh, to the said highway (*Register of Lanercost,* quoted by Nicolson and Burn, ii., 426).

Lanercost Priory retained possession of Little Haresceugh until the dissolution of that house. It was held in

mortmain, free from the usual incidents of feudal tenure; and so it is never referred to in the records of the manor of Kirkoswald.

Haresceugh seems to have been the general appellation of a wider area, because there is a locality in the immediate neighbourhood known formerly as "Cherbuckle-Haresceugh," and now as "Nether-Haresceugh," where the nuns of Armathwaite possessed some land (these *Transactions*, N.S. xvii., p. 7). Little Haresceugh must be distinguished from Harescow, referred to, in connection with Caldbeck, by a final agreement of 1242 (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, i., p. 289), and Harschoh, mentioned, under the heading of Caldbeck, in 1308 (*Cal. inq. p.m.*, 2 Ed. ii., p. 69). In 1485, Humphrey, Lord Dacre, had a tenement at Band-Harscogh and some messuages at Cannerheugh (*ibid.*, 1 Hen. VII., p. 70), but those particulars of property were probably situate outside the limits of the monks' land. *Band* signifies a boundary (Wright, *Eng. Dial. Dict.*).

There is only one entry, in the whole series of public records, which is applicable to Little Haresceugh. It states that, in 1303, Adam le Sauser, of Salkeld, and Hugh Bannock, of Gamblesby, were pardoned for the death of Thomas Lamb of Harskeu, on account of their service in Scotland (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 31 Ed. I., pp. 176 and 179).

The hamlet of Haresceugh, on the steep road leading from Renwick bridge to "Hartside Cross" on the summit of the fell, contains the ruins of a reputed castle, described in these *Transactions*, N.S. ix., p. 220, but it seems unlikely that there was a mansion there until the manor passed into lay hands. The Augmentation Office survey of 1536-7 does not allude to any capital messuage, but describes the manor as consisting of four tenements, value £3 (Dugdale, *Mon.*, vi., 238).

At Fell-gate, the last mentioned road passes the ruins

of a cottage, bearing upon its lintel the inscription R. G.H., 1762, and, still further up the fell, a solitary farm building called "Selah."

Gamblesby and Glassonby, united.

A charter of Henry I. runs as follows:—"To Odard the Sheriff and others greeting. Know that I have given to Hildred de Carlisle and Odard his son the land which belonged to Gamel, son of Bern, and the land which belonged to Glassam, son of Brictric, my drengs" (*Abbreviatio Placitorum*, p. 66).

Hildred and Odard his son paid 40 shillings for the concession of the land of Gamel, son of Ber[nard], in 1130 (*Pipe Rolls*). Odard, son of Hildred, styled elsewhere "Odard de Hodalm" (Hoddam, Dumfriesshire), died in 1177, and the two manors held *in capite* fell into the hand of Henry II.

Robert de Hoddam, son and heir of Odard (see *Pedigree A*), paid 15 marks "that he might have peace, because he was with the King's enemies," and a rival claimant, Richard son of Truite, owed 10 marks "for the right of Gamelsby and Glassanby which he had not yet" (*Pipe Rolls*). The sheriff accounted, in 1178, for the issues of Glassanby, "which Richard, son of Truite, claimed," and in 1179, for the issues of the two manors, "which were (formerly) of Odard de Hoddam" (*Pipe Rolls*). At last, in 1198, Richard, son of [*sic*] Richard, son of Truite, rendered account of 100 marks, for *having seisin* of Gamelsby and Glassanby, which were taken into the king's hand (*Pipe Rolls*).

But, in the following year, the first of King John, Richard son of Truite appealed Robert de Hoddam, because he had allied himself with the King of Scotland (William the Lion), and besieged Carlisle Castle. Robert, who was over 60 years of age, appeared by his son and alleged that, at the date in question (1174), his father

Odard was in the service of Henry II. in Carlisle Castle, was seised of the land (Gamelsby and Glassanby), which he (Robert) was claiming against Richard, and died seised of the same. The Court decided, on a technical point, that the appeal should be dismissed, and Robert was acquitted (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, I., p. 44).

At Midsummer, 1200, Robert de Hoddam claimed against "Richard son of Truite" five carucates of land in Gamelsby and Glassanby, from which his father, in Henry II.'s time, took profits to the value of half a mark of silver (*ibid.*, i., p. 46), and, in the same year, he owed 20 shillings, for having right, in the king's court at Westminster, for two carucates of land in Gamelsby, against Richard son of Truite (*Pipe Rolls*).

Litigation continued for many years, and, at Candlemas, 1208-9, Robert put in his place Odard his son, in the Plea of "Richard son of Richard *versus* Robert de Hoddam" (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, i., p. 75).

Robert de Hoddam was dead in 1210, and Odard his son owed 200 marks and four palfreys, for having the vills of Gamelsby and Glassanby (*Pipe Rolls*). The said Odard was dead in 1211, when his widow, Matilda, had her dower out of the two manors (*Pipe Rolls*). He left two daughters, Christiana and Eva. King John gave to William de Ireby Christiana in marriage and the whole of Gamelsby and Glassanby, worth £10 per annum and rendering two marks annually for cornage, because Eva was living in Scotland (*Testa de Nevill*). But in February, 1242-3, Eva, then widow of Robert Avenel, claimed as her right against William de Ireby a moiety of the two manors, because Odard, her father, was seised of them in fee, and from Odard the right descended to Christiana and Eva, his daughters. William, in defence, stated that Christiana his wife had a daughter, also named Christiana and wife of Thomas de Lascelles, who was co-parcener with Eva, but not named in the writ.

Judgment was given for William, and Eva had leave to procure a new writ (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, i., p. 294). There was a grant to William de Ireby and his heirs, in 1244, of free warren in his demesne lands of Glassanby (*Cal. Charter Rolls*, 29 Hen. III., p. 281). By final agreement, made in 1245, between Thomas de Lascelles and Christiana his wife and Eva, widow of Robert Avenel, plaintiffs, and William de Ireby, defendant, William acknowledged that the manors belonged to Christiana and Eva, and, in consideration of the acknowledgment, Christiana and Eva granted the manors to William for life, he paying yearly to Eva and her heirs, for her moiety, 100 shillings. On William's death, the manors were to revert to Christiana and Eva and be equally divided, Christiana taking the chief messuage of each manor, as the *esnecia* or senior parcener's right, and, whenever the church of Glassanby fell vacant, after William's death, Christiana and Eva and their respective heirs were to have the right of presentation alternately for ever (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, i., p. 308).

By another final agreement, made in 1246, between Ralph de Levington, plaintiff, and Alan de Chartres and Eva his wife, defendants, concerning the 100 shillings rent in Gamelsby and Glassanby, Alan and Eva acknowledged that the rent belonged to Ralph, who had it by gift from Eva before her marriage with Alan, to be held by Ralph and the heirs of his body, of Alan and Eva and the latter's heirs, paying yearly a pound of pepper, or sixpence, at the Assumption of Our Lady. For that acknowledgment, Ralph gave the defendants a sor * sparrowhawk (*ibid.*, i., p. 312).

Ralph de Levington, purchaser of Eva's moiety, died in 1253, leaving an infant daughter, Helewisa. William de Ireby, tenant for life of both manors, died in 1257, and, in December of that year, Thomas de Lascelles,

* A sorhawk, now called a "red hawk," is a hawk of the first year, which has not moulted and still has its red plumage. (*New Eng. Dict.*)

his son-in-law, wrongfully obtained seisin of the whole (*ibid.*, i., p. 408). But, early in 1258-9, both manors were taken into the king's hand, because Thomas de Lascelles had falsely given the king to understand that his wife was the sole heiress, whereas there was another co-parcener, Eva, whose heir * [*sic*] was under age and in custody of Edward the king's son (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, i., p. 419). In September, 1260, Eustace de Baliol, keeper of the land and heiress of Ralph de Levington, recovered possession of the undivided moiety of Gamelsby and Glassanby, to which that heiress was entitled (*ibid.*, i., p. 433). Helewisa, heiress of Ralph de Levington and widow of Eustace de Baliol, died in 1272, seised *in capite* of a moiety of Gamelsby and Glassanby, consisting of 65½ acres of demesne land; a meadow; 51 bovates of land; a rent of £1 15s. 3½d., paid by cottars; a mill; a fulling mill; and a moiety of the advowson of Glassanby. Her heirs were a number of co-parceners (*ibid.*, i., p. 546). But, in 1275, after litigation, the king and the said co-parceners quitclaimed all their rights in the premises to Christiana de Lascelles, who was already entitled, in her own right, to a moiety, and had married a second husband, Robert de Brus, "the Competitor" (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 3 Ed. I., p. 196).

The advowson was appendant to the manor of Glassanby, and the church then stood, within that manor, at a village called "Adingham," which gave its name to a parish, probably co-extensive with the modern parish of Addingham, and including the townships of Gamblesby, Glassonby (the names are thus spelt to-day), Little Salkeld and Hunsonby-*cum*-Winskill. But the old village and its church were gradually destroyed by the encroachment of the river Eden.

Before her second marriage, Christiana de Lascelles

* The jury seem to indicate Helewisa de Levington heiress of the *purchaser* from Eva.

gave the advowson to the Priory of Carlisle, which was seised of the adjacent manor of Little Salkeld (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, ii., p. 36), and of a chapel built thereon. In 1282, Robert de Brus and Christiana, his wife, petitioned the bishop to allow the priory to appropriate both church and chapel. The bishop directed appropriation to take effect after the death of Eustace de Trewik, then rector (Nicolson and Burn, ii., 450).

The *Taxatio* of Pope Nicholas, 1291-2, mentions the church of Leigham, identified by an explanatory note as "*Hodie* Adynham." The name, Leigham, does not occur elsewhere in the records, and is obviously a clerical error for Adingham.

In 1295, there was confirmation of a grant in fee simple, by Christiana, widow of Robert de Brus, sometime lord of Annandale, to Adam de Crokedayk, of the vill of Glassanby held in chief (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 23 Ed. I., p. 154). The long-associated manors of Gamelsby and Glassanby were thus finally divorced. Eustace de Trewik, rector of Adingham, died in 1296, and, at the close of the year, the priory presented dominus Robert de Scardeburg, priest, and Adam de Crokedayk, purchaser of the manor of Glassanby, made a simultaneous presentation to the vacant living (*Halton Register*, edit. Thompson, i., pp. 89 and 95). The king's court at Westminster decided that the prior was entitled, as against the king and Adam de Crokedayk, to make the presentation (*ibid.*, p. 104).

The prior and convent of St. Mary, Carlisle, were pardoned on July 10th, 1297, for entering without licence upon a toft and croft in Glassanby, with the advowson of "the church of St. Michael, Adingham and of the chapel of Salkeld," by feoffment of Christiana de Lascelles, tenant in chief, and the same were restored to them in frank almoin (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 25 Ed. I., p. 291), and the bishop gave custody of the sequestration in the parish church of Adingham to Master William de Beverley,

clerk (*Halton Register*, i., p. 105). It is not clear whether the said Robert de Scardeburg was instituted, because William de Beverley appears later as rector. In 1304, the priory obtained the king's licence to appropriate the church of Adingham together with the chapel of Salkeld annexed thereto (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 32 Ed. I., p. 241). In 1307, there was a dispensation to William de Beverley, "rector of the parish church of Adingham," to study for two years at Oxford and Cambridge, and, in the meantime, to put his rectory to farm (*Halton Register*, i., 282). The church was, at last, appropriated on January 22nd, 1315-16 (*ibid.*, ii., 115), and in November, 1316, brother Geoffrey de Goverton, canon of Carlisle, was instituted as *vicar*, upon the resignation of Master William de Beverley, late rector, and the appropriation thereupon made (*ibid.*, ii., 131).

Gamblesby, alone.

Christiana had, by her first marriage with Thomas de Lascelles, a daughter and heiress, Ermina, wife of John de Seton. On October 12th, 1305, an inquisition showed that John de Seton, by charter, granted the vills of Gamelsby and Unthank, held in chief, to Robert de Brus and Christiana and the heirs of their bodies, with reversion to the grantor in fee simple; Robert and Christiana died without heir of their bodies; and John's heir was his son Christopher; so the escheator was ordered to deliver the same vills to Christopher (*Cal. Fine Rolls*, 33 Ed. I., p. 528). But, in the following year, Christopher de Seton was executed for rebellion and forfeited his inheritance.

On May 26th, 1306, the king granted to William le Latimer (see *Pedigree B*) in fee simple, the hamlets of Gamelsby and Unthank, forfeited as aforesaid (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 34 Ed. I., p. 434). William le Latimer, Lord Latimer, married Lucy, daughter of Robert de Thweng, of Danby, Yorks., and died in 1327, seised of Gamelsby

and the hamlet of Unthank pertaining thereto, held in chief, rendering 13s. 4d. for cornage and occupied by tenants at will. William, his son by the said marriage, aged 25 and more. was his heir (*Cal. inq. p.m.*, 1 Ed. III., p. 27).

The last-named William le Latimer, Lord Latimer, was pardoned for having without licence acquired, by feoffment from his father, an estate tail in the premises and the same were restored to him (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1 Ed. III., p. 64). He married Elizabeth, daughter of John de Botetourt, Lord Botetourt, and died in 1335, seised of the manor of Gamelsby and the hamlet of Unthank pertaining thereto. His son William, aged 5 years and more, was his heir (*Cal. inq. p.m.*, 9 Ed. III., p. 475).

The last-named William le Latimer, Lord Latimer, married Elizabeth, said to have been a daughter of Edmund Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, and died in 1381, seised of the vill of Gamelsby with the hamlet of Unthank (*Cal. Esch.*, 4 Rich. II., p. 31).

His daughter and heiress, Elizabeth, Baroness Latimer in her own right, was, at the time of her father's death, the second wife of John de Nevill, Lord Nevill of Raby. She died November 5th, 1395, and John, her son by the said marriage, aged 12 years and more, was her heir (see Cokayne, *Peerage*).

John de Nevill, Lord Latimer, made proof of his age in 1404, and gave the manors of Gamelsby and Unthank, in his lifetime, to his half-brother, Ralph de Nevill, Earl of Westmorland, who died October, 21st, 1425, seised of the same (*Cal. Esch.*, 4 Hen. VI., p. 105).

The bounds of the manor of Gamelsby, perambulated at a court baron held there in 1805, are described as follows :—

The riding was begun at Swathgill, opposite Swathgill house, and from thence up the hill, where a grey stone formerly stood

in Sievy-sike-head, and from thence to Greenfell-raise. From Greenfell-raise to a currock on the top of the height, and from thence to Rougill-cleugh-head. From thence to a place called Parkin Stones. From thence, down Meaburn to a place called Raneleps; from thence, up the river, to Yad-moss-pool; from thence, still up the river, to a place called Annas-kirk-scar; from thence to Long Currock; from thence to a round hill at Rapeside-head; from thence, down the hill, to Tod-raise; from thence to a place called House-in-the-scar. From thence to a grey stone on Whinhey-brow-end, and so, along the south side of Gillbeck to Gillhead. From thence to a place called Hinesfoot; thence along the west side of the same water to Ruddenfoot; so, up the west side of Swathgill sike, to a place called Laneb-gap. So, straight by three round grey stones to Cannerheugh-dike, and from thence, along Cannerheugh-dike, to Swathgill aforesaid (Jefferson, *Leath Ward*, p. 327).

The locality called Parkin Stones is on the confines of the manor of Alston Moor (Nicolson and Burn, ii., 439). House-in-the-scar abuts on Melmerby. The wild waste known as "Fiends Fell" formed part of Gamelsby common.

Glassonby, alone.

Adam de Crokedayk, purchaser from Christiana died in 1304-5, seised of the manor of Glassanby, including a rent, for *forlands*, of 4 skeps and 8 strikes of oatmeal, each skep being worth 5 shillings, and a fishery, held in chief by homage and 20s. a year cornage, and his son John, aged 30 and more, was his heir (*Cal. inq. p.m.*, 33 Ed. I., p. 212). John de Crokedayk, the elder (see *Pedigree C.*), married Margaret, daughter of John de Wigton, and died before November 25th, 1305 (the date is important), seised in chief of the manor and paying thereout 13s. 4d. rent to the Prioress of Armathwaite and 3s. to the Prior of St. Mary's, Carlisle. His brother Alexander, aged 22 and more, was then supposed to be his heir, but the sequel shows that he had a son, perhaps posthumous, John the younger (*Cal. inq. p.m.*, 34 Ed. I., p. 253). In 1314 one-third of Glassanby was assigned to

Margaret for life in dower, but the remaining two-thirds were in the hands of a custodian, because John de Crokedayk's son and heir, John the younger, was an infant (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 8 Ed. II., p. 200). John the younger was 3 years old and more in January, 1309-10, when he inherited some land from his father's brother Alexander (*Cal. inq. p.m.*, 3 Ed. II., p. 100), and he was still a boy when he died, before August 25th, 1322, entitled to the remaining two-thirds of Glassanby, held in chief by service of 9s. cornage (*Cal. inq. p.m.*, 16 Ed. II., p. 260).

But John the younger was married, for on July 22nd, 1323, his widow, Sarah, received dower out of a specific fragment of his inheritance, namely, 8 acres and 3 roods of woodland, half an acre of meadow, and a water mill, in Glassanby (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 17 Ed. II., p. 7). That specific fragment is frequently mentioned afterwards in conjunction with a certain manor of Gamelsby, situate at Aikton and not the subject of this paper.

The heirs of John de Crokedayk, the younger, were :— as to the first moiety : John son of Robert son of Roger de Tollesland (Toseland, Hunts.) and of Juliana his wife (aunt of John de Crokedayk, the younger) aged 8 years and 5 months.

As to the second moiety : (1) Joan, wife of Thomas de Newbiggin, eldest daughter of Christiana, late the wife of Robert de Castlecarrock (another aunt of John de Crokedayk, the younger) aged 20 ; (2) Christiana, the wife of Michael de Appleby, second daughter of the same Christiana, aged 18 ; and (3) John, son of William de Eaglesfield and of Margaret his wife, deceased, third daughter of the same Christiana, aged 10 (*Cal. inq. p.m.*, 16 Ed. II., p. 260).

The manor was partitioned, and on August 1st, 1323, the escheator was ordered to deliver to Thomas de Newbiggin and Joan his wife and to Michael de Appleby

and Christiana his wife their respective shares of the land (*Cal. Fine Rolls*, 17 Ed. II., p. 236). The lands of the other two infant heirs were meanwhile committed to the custody of William de Eaglesfield (*ibid.*, *pp.* 243, 245).

John de Tollesland proved his age on November 20th, 1336 (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 10 Ed. III., p. 635), and John de Eaglesfield (born at Eaglesfield in Cumberland), proved his age in the same year (*Cal. inq. p.m.*, 10 Ed. III., p. 45).

In 1340, John de Tollesland obtained licence to enfeoff Robert Parvyng of his moiety of two parts of the manor of Glassanby; the reversion of the said woodland and meadow, which Ralph de Normanvill and Sarah his wife held in dower; and the reversion of the one-third part of the manor, which John de Weston and Margaret (de Wigton) his wife held in dower (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 14 Ed. III., p. 417).

Robert Parvyng died in 1343, seised of the first moiety of the manor of Glassanby, held in chief by service of 10 shillings for cornage (*Cal. inq. p.m.*, 17 Ed. III., p. 302).

In 1330, John, son of Thomas and Joan de Newbiggin, died an infant in the king's wardship. His mother had died a year or more previously. John's heirs were his sisters, Margaret (who married Thomas de Hale) aged 11, Helen aged 8, and Alice aged 5 (*Cal. inq. p.m.*, 4 Ed. III., p. 242).

Margaret de Wigton, doweress of the whole manor, died in 1349-50.

William de Dacre was pardoned, in 1358, for having acquired, without licence, from William Kitison and Christiana his wife, their one-sixth part of the vill of Glassanby (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 32 Ed. III., p. 137). The said Christiana was widow of Michael de Appleby. Richard de Hale, son of Thomas and Margaret de Hale, had seisin, in 1364, of his mother's share of the manor, lately in the king's hand on account of his minority (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 38 Ed. III., p. 35).

At this period, the history of the second moiety of Glassanby, enjoyed by the descendants of Robert de Castlecarrock, loses much of its interest, owing to the subdivision of that moiety into petty shares and it is needless to pursue it further.

Glassanby, according to John Denton, was bounded by the Dale Raghon beck, but it should be observed that its boundary, as shown on the ordnance map, does not coincide with the course of that stream.

Hildred de Carlisle, grantee of both manors, 1130.

Odard de Hoddam, dead 1177.

Robert de Hoddam, dead, 1210.

Odard de Hoddam = Matilda.
dead, 1211.

William de Ireby = Christiana.
d. 1257.

(1) Thomas de Lascelles = Christiana = (2) Robert de Brus, the "Competitor."
sold Glassanby to Adam de Crokedayk.

John de Seton = Ermina.

Christopher de Seton, forfeited Gamelsby, 1306.

(1) Robert Avenel = Eva = (2) Alan de Chartres.
dead 1245.
gave her moiety to Ralph de Levington.

GAMBLESBY, ALONE. PEDIGREE B.

William le Latimer = Lucy, dau. of Robert de Thweng.
grantee of Gamelsby, 1306, d. 1327.

William le Latimer = Elizabeth, dau. of John, Lord Botetourt.
d. 1335.

William le Latimer = Elizabeth, dau. of Edmund, Earl of Arundel.
d. 1381.

(1) Maud = John de Nevill = (2) Elizabeth,
dau. of Henry, Lord Percy.
Lord Nevill of Raby, d. October 17th, 1388.
inherited Gamelsby, d. Nov. 5th, 1395.

(1) Margaret = Ralph de Nevill = (2) Joan.
created Earl of Westmorland, 1397, d. 1425, seised of Gamelsby.

John de Nevill,
proved his full age 1404, settled Gamelsby on his half brother Ralph, Earl of Westmorland.

GLASSONBY, ALONE. PEDIGREE C.

- ADAM DE CROKEDAYK = purchaser of Glassanby, d. 1304-5.
  - JOHN DE CROKEDAYK = MARGARET, dau. of John de Wigton, doweress, d. 1349-50.
    - JOHN DE CROKEDAYK = SARAH. the younger, d. without issue, 1322.
    - ROBERT DE TOLLESLAND.
      - JOHN DE TOLLESLAND, inherited the first moiety, 1323.
  - JULIANA = ROGER DE TOLLESLAND.
    - JOAN = THOS. DE NEWBIGGIN. inherited one-third of the second moiety 1323.
      - JOHN DE NEWBIGGIN, d. without issue, 1331, entitled to one-third of the second moiety.
      - MARGARET = THOS. DE HALE.
        - RICHARD DE HALE, mentioned, 1364.
      - HELEN.
      - ALICE.
  - CHRISTIANA = ROBERT DE CASTLECARROCK.
    - CHRISTIANA = MICH. DE APPLEBY. inherited one-third of the second moiety 1323.
    - MARGARET. = WM. DE EAGLESFIELD.
      - JOHN DE EAGLESFIELD, inherited one-third of the second moiety, 1323.

Art. IV.—*Old Salkeld.* By T. H. B. Graham, M.A.

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SALKELD, in Addingham parish, is thought to derive its name from a saugh-keld or willow-spring on the bank of the Eden (Sedgefield, *Place-Names*), and is styled "Old Salkeld," or "Little Salkeld," to distinguish it from the manor and parish of Salkeld *Regis*, or Great Salkeld, upon the opposite side of the river. The history of the latter place is linked with that of Penrith. Old Salkeld and Salkeld are mentioned, side by side, in the pipe roll of 1188. "Saffelt" was the old pronunciation of the name (these *Transactions*, o.s. vi., p. 276). The Salkeld family traced descent from John de Salkeld, of "Salkeld *Parva*, otherwise Old Salkeld," living at the close of the thirteenth century (see Pedigree, Flower's *Visitation of Yorkshire*, 1563-4, *Harleian Society's Publications*, vol. xvi). Alice, wife of Robert de Salkeld, was grantee of land at Huddlesceugh early in the same century (*Prescott*, Wetherhal, p. 289). A branch of the Hutton family was also domiciled at Old Salkeld. There was a "chapel of Little Salkeld." Merghanby (now spelt Maughanby and pronounced Maffanby), Farmanby (marked on Fryer's map), Robberby, Hunsonby and Winskill were all hamlets of Addingham parish.

A group of tenements, namely, Old Salkeld, Upperby (near Carlisle), two carucates of land and a tan mill, were escheats of the crown * in Henry II.'s reign, and, in 1164, the sheriff accounted for the "farm" of those tenements. His account is continued until 1185, and,

* A verdict of 1210 records that Upperby had been land of "Randulf," possibly Ranulf Meschin (*Abbrev. Placit.*, *p.* 66).

in 1187 and following years, there are entries respecting the tallage or *donum* of Old Salkeld and Faremannebi (*Pipe Rolls*).

By deed, dated April 20th, 1194, Richard I. confirms to Adam "cook of our mother Queen Alienor," all the land of Old Salkeld, with its appurtenances, "which was accustomed to return to our exchequer, yearly, £4 16s. 0d., to hold of us in fee, by service of one pound of pepper a year to our bailiffs at Carlisle, *for all service*." Queen Alienor is witness to the deed (Rymer, *Fœdera*, I., 63).

Accordingly, from 1195 until the close of King John's reign, Adam seems to have been excused payment of £4 16s. 0d., being the former rent of Old Salkeld, while, in 1197 and following years, under the heading "Noutgeld," he is expressly pardoned the sum of £1 7s. 11d. (*Pipe Rolls*), being the amount of cornage rent, charged of old upon that land (*Testa de Nevill*).

Again, a charter of Queen Alienor, dated 1200, recites that her son, King Richard, then deceased, gave her, "at her entreaty," the land of Upperby and Harfineby (Maughanby), which used to pay to the exchequer, yearly, £2 0s. 0d., and conveys the same land, quit of cornage and other dues, to her faithful servant, Adam, the cook, and Joan, his wife, in fee, paying one pound of cummin a year to the king's bailiffs at Carlisle, *for all service* (*Cal. Doc. France*, edit. Round, p. 394).

Adam was already in receipt of the profits of the last-mentioned premises, for, in 1192, there had been a gift to him by the king's writ, of the said sum of £2 in Upperby and Arphinebi (*Pipe Rolls*).

King John confirmed Old Salkeld to Adam, in 1201 (*Placita de quo waranto, Record Commission*, p. 117), because that manor had been taken into the king's hand, in consequence of a deposition, made *coram rege*, that it was part of the king's demesne. Adam thereupon produced the said charters of Richard and John and paid

a fine of £5 for having seisin of Old Salkeld (*Pipe Rolls*).

Account is rendered, by the sheriff, in 1203, of Adam le Salsier's cornage; in 1204, of his serjeanty; in 1211, of his amercement; and, in 1214, of his pound of pepper (*ibid*). Hugh de Salkeld owed an amercement, in 1211 (*ibid.*).

Adam *Salsarius*, or *le Sauser*, gave Old Salkeld to bishop Hugh (consecrated in February, 1218-19), to hold of the king, in *frankalmoin*, by service of a pound of pepper (*Placita*, p. 117). The gift was made without licence, for, on Adam's death in 1221, his land at Old Salkeld was taken into the king's hand, and Henry, son of Fulcher, his nephew and heir, was given seisin of the same (*Rot. Fin.*, edit. Roberts, i., pp. 66 and 70). Bishop Hugh died in 1223, and, in 1226-7, his successor, bishop Walter, levied a fine *versus* Henry, son of Fulcher, and Nicholas le Sauser, tenants of Old Salkeld (*F.F.** no. 113) and it was agreed between the parties that the whole manor belonged to the *bishop and priory* of Carlisle; that the bishop should hold it of the king, in chief, by service of the pound of pepper; and should grant it to Henry and Nicholas, to hold in fee simple of the bishop and priory, for the rent of £4 a year (*Placita, p.* 117).

The king signified his approval of the arrangement (*Rot. Fin.*, i., 165). In 1230, the king quitclaimed to bishop Walter, for ever, the said rent of a pound of pepper (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 14 Hen. III., p. 323); and, in the same year, the bishop released, to the Prior and Convent of Carlisle, his joint interest in the manor of Old Salkeld and its rent of £4. The king confirmed the transaction by his charter (*Placita*, p. 128). Upperby drops out of the story, for, in 1237, it had become vested in Robert de Ros; and later, in Alexander, King of Scotland (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, i., pp. 251 and 319).

* Cal. Feet of Fines, these *Transactions*, N.S. vii., p. 215.

Henry de Salkeld was a juror, in 1271 (these *Transactions*, N.S. vi., p. 163).

John, son of Nicholas le Sauser, and Patrick, son of William de Merkanby (Maughanby), were charged with having taken, in January 1277-8, a doe in the forest, with four greyhounds, belonging to Eustace de Trewyk, "parson of Salkeld" (these *Transactions*, N.S. vii., p. 17). He was parson of *Addingham* in 1282. At an assize, holden in 1278, the prior of Carlisle proved his title to *Little Salkeld* by producing the bishop's release (*Cal. Doc. Scot.* ii., p. 36).

Thomas de Salkeld was nominated as an attorney, in 1281 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 9 Ed. I., p. 441).

In 1292, Edward I. sought to recover, against the prior and convent, the said rent of £4, arising out of Old Salkeld (*Placita*, p. 117); and, at the same time, commenced proceedings (p. 127), against the under-tenants:—William de Newby and Matilda, his wife, successor of Adam le Sauser (p. 115), and heiress of Henry, son of Fulcher (p. 128).

Matilda held, in her own right, land and half a mill at Old Salkeld, but she and her husband had granted the same to Nicholas de Arthuret and Mariota his wife. Mariota's father * had (with her and her husband's consent), demised part of her land to Geoffrey de Melkenthorp; and Geoffrey had demised the same to a free tenant, John de Salkeld, for Mariota's life and ten years afterwards (p. 115). John de Salkeld was also tenant of Hunswanby (Hunsonby).

The other under-tenants of the manor were (p. 127), Henry and Robert le Sauser; John de Roberdeby (Robberby); William de Farnandby (Farmanby), in

* Matilda de Newby held the moiety, originally belonging to Henry, son of Fulcher, and it is suggested that Mariota de Arthuret held the other moiety, originally belonging to Nicholas le Sauser, because her successor, William de Arthuret, appears to deal with the two moieties, in 1332-3 and 1344-5 respectively (*infra*).

right of Mabel, his wife (p. 128); William de Wynscales (Winskill); John de Mauchacle (Machel), in right of Beatrice, his wife; William de la Ferte, holding in free marriage with Sibyl, his wife (p. 127); Robert de Ulvesby, with his feoffee Thomas de Salkeld; and Thomas, son of William de Farmanby, who claimed to hold from year to year, at the will of Adam de Ulvesby, not named in the writ (p. 128). Many of the undertenants called upon William and Matilda de Newby to warrant their title. William de Newby and John de Robberby had been jurors, in 1276 (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, ii., p. 18). John de Machel was of Crackenthorpe (these *Transactions*, o.s. viii., p. 421).

Pardon was granted, in 1292, to Stephen de Merghanby, in Carlisle gaol for the death of Laurence de Merghanby (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 21 Ed. I., p. 2).

The sheriff was ordered, in 1294, to give the prior of Carlisle seisin of a messuage at Old Salkeld, which John de la Ferte, outlawed for felony, held of the prior. The vill of Salkeld had meanwhile enjoyed the king's year and a day therein (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 22 Ed. I., p. 368).

Adam le Sauser, of Salkeld, is mentioned in 1303 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 31 Ed. I., p. 176). In 1307, Mariota, *la Sausere*,* of Salkeld granted land at Meaburn Maud to the abbot of Shap (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 35 Ed. I., p. 508); and, in the same year, Joan, widow of John de Salkeld, complained that Thomas de Hoton broke into her house at Old Salkeld and removed a wagon, laden with corn, and its oxen (*ibid.*, 1 Ed. II., p. 37).

Richard de Salkeld, an adherent of the earl of Lancaster, obtained pardon, in 1318 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 12 Ed. II., p. 235). He is probably identical with Richard de Salkeld, knight of the shire in 1328, to whom Edward II. gave Corby.

* The feminine of le *Sauser*, "saucemaker," adopted as a surname by the descendants of Adam, the cook.

In 1330, John de Newbiggin held land at Merghanby, in chief (*Cal. inq. p.m.*, 4 Ed. III., p. 242); and in the same year John de Salkeld was pardoned for hunting in the forest (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, p. 501).

There was an order, in 1331, to restore to the prior of Carlisle a messuage at Salkeld, demised, in 1321, by Robert, his predecessor, to Robert de la Ferte, adherent of the Scots, and taken into the king's hand (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 5 Ed. III., p. 357).

Richard de Salkeld levied a fine, in 1332-3, *versus* William de Arthuret and Joan, his wife, in respect of a moiety of the manor of "Little Salkeld" (*F.F.* no. 224).

In 1334, Robert de Salkeld was appointed an attorney in Ireland (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 8 Ed. III., p. 550).

In 1338, Richard de Hoton, of Old Salkeld, defendant in an action, commenced two years previously, by William de Newby, chaplain, in respect of land, half a mill, and rents of money, pepper, cinnamon and ginger, was relieved of the consequences of non-appearance, because he had been in the king's service in Scotland (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 12 Ed. III., p. 498).

Roger,* son of Ranulf de Salkeld (see *Table*, appended hereto) acknowledged a debt, in 1340, to be levied on his land in Cumberland (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 13 Ed. III., p. 342).

Richard de Salkeld was commissioned in 1343, to enquire concerning the murder of the said William de Newby, chaplain (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 17 Ed. III., p. 87).

In 1344-5, William and Joan de Arthuret, Thomas, son of John de Hoton-in-the-forest and Thomas, son of John de Hundswanby (Hunsonby), were parties to a suit, relating to half a mill and rents of land in Old Salkeld (*F.F.*, no. 251). William and Joan had already sold one

* Roger's relationship, if any, to John the undertenant is not disclosed. His family may have resided at Great Salkeld and derived their surname from that place. Roger was a verderer of Inglewood forest and receiver, n 1360, of money for repair of Salkeld bridge (these *Transactions*, N.S. xiii., p. 169).

moiety of the mesne manor to Richard de Salkeld (*supra*).

The vill of Salkeld is described, in 1346, as situate within the liberty of the prior of Carlisle, in the parish of Addingham (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 20 Ed. III., p. 30).

Richard and Roger de Salkeld were commissioned to survey Penrith, in 1348 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 22 Ed. III., p. 175).

John Hunter, of Salkeld, had land at that vill, in 1349-50 (*Cal. Esch.*, 23 Ed. III., p. 156). John de Salkeld, lieutenant of William Lengleys, chief forester, was pardoned, in 1351, for trespass in the forest (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 25 Ed. III., pp. 94 and 121).

Roger de Salkeld and Margaret, his wife, had land at Dovenby, in 1351-2 (*F.F.*, no. 264), John de Salkeld and Thomas de Salkeld, rector [*sic*] of Addingham, were appointed executors by Robert de Bromfield in 1353 (*Test. Karl.*, edit. Ferguson, p. 6).

There is reference, in 1355, to Roger de Salkeld and his intended wife, Johanna, daughter of Thomas Beauchamp (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 29 Ed. III., p. 303). Thomas Beauchamp was of Lazonby (these *Transactions*, o.s. viii., p. 422).

On October 21st, 1358, Roger de Salkeld was no longer qualified to be verderer of the forest (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 32 Ed. III., p. 484).

John de Salkeld, of Merghanby, by his will, proved January, 1358-9, appointed Margaret, his wife, Richard, his brother and Adam de Wigton, vicar of Addingham, his executors, and gave legacies to the sons of John de Salkeld, *junior*, Thomas, his own chaplain and John and Richard, his own natural sons (*Test. Karl.*, p. 20).

In 1360, the chapel of Little Salkeld was polluted by bloodshed.

William de Routhbury, archdeacon of Carlisle, by his will made in 1364, desired to be buried at Great Salkeld, and bequeathed a legacy to Hugh de Salkeld, son of Ranulf the forester (*Test. Karl.*, p. 74).

There was an order, in 1364, to give Richard (son of

Thomas de Hale and Margaret, his wife), seisin of land at Merghanby, which his father held of his inheritance by courtesy. Richard held Merghanby of the king, in chief (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 38 Ed. III., p. 35). The same Richard de Hale was also tenant in chief of a fragment of the manor of Glassonby. Hugh, son of Richard de Salkeld, of Corby, was pardoned, in 1369, for having acquired, from his father, without licence, the manor of Corby for life (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 43 Ed. III., p. 243).

In 1372, Hugh de Salkeld had become too infirm to exercise his office of verderer (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 46 Ed. III. p. 363). Roger de Salkeld was a commissioner in the following year (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 47 Ed. III., p. 311).

Richard and John de Salkeld were both imprisoned, in 1374, for trespass in the forest (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 48 Ed. III., p. 34). They were perhaps the above-mentioned natural sons of John de Salkeld of Merghanby.

Roger de Salkeld, by his will, proved January 16th, 1378-9, made a bequest to the light of Blessed Mary of Salkeld and to the bridge there, and gave legacies to "my wife Johanna, Hugh my brother, brother Thomas, and Margaret and Alice my daughters" (*Test. Karl.*, p. 125); and, in 1379, there was an order to elect a new verderer in his place (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 3 Rich, II., p. 277).

Licence was given, in 1383, for William de Hoton-in-the-forest to enfeoff William de Hoton, of Salkeld, and others of the manor of Hutton-in-the-forest (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 7 Rich. II., p. 332).

Hugh de Salkeld, *junior*, and Margaret, his wife, had some land at Greystoke, in 1388-9 (*F.F.* no. 309). According to Flower's Pedigree he was of the Rosgill branch.

William de Dacre, knight, held Merghanby of the king, 1398-9 (*Cal. Esch.*, 22 Rich. II., p. 229). Hugh de Salkeld "of Salkeld" was in the commission of the peace for Westmorland in 1399 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1 Hen. IV., p. 565).

To recapitulate the facts:—In Edward I.'s reign, the

entire manor of Old Salkeld was held in mortmain by the prior of Carlisle, who gave one moiety thereof to Matilda de Newby, successor of Adam Salsarius his original benefactor, to hold, of the priory, as a mesne manor. Matilda and her husband, William de Newby, enfeoffed Nicholas and Mariota de Arthuret of the same moiety. John de Salkeld, member of an indigenous family, was undertenant of the Arthurets, and was dead in 1307.

According to *Jenyns' Roll*, the arms of John de Salkeld were *vert*, a fret *or*, but tricked fretty (Foster, *Some Feudal Coats*). Foster seems to have regarded Jenyns' Roll as a document of Edward I.'s time, but there is reason to suppose that it was not compiled until that of Richard II. It should be noted that John of the earlier period was only an undertenant, whereas John of the later period was lord of half the mesne manor held of the priory, and was more likely to record his family arms.

When William Flower, Norroy King of arms, visited Yorkshire in 1563-4, the Salkelds of Cumberland submitted their pedigree to him, describing their arms as *vert*, fretty *argent* (*Harleian Society's Publications*, vol. XVI). That document shows that John de Salkeld, the undertenant, had an eldest son and heir, Richard.

Richard rose to prominence and was knight of the shire in 1328. In 1332-3, he purchased from William and Joan de Arthuret their moiety of Old Salkeld, and so became to that extent mesne lord of the manor. Salkeld Hall was probably his home. For service rendered to Edward II., he obtained a grant of Great Corby, but he demised that manor to his younger son, Hugh, for life. The said Hugh married Christiana, daughter and heiress of John de Rosgill, and was founder of the family of Salkeld, of Rosgill, Westmorland. He was dead in 1378-9 (*Cal. Esch.*, 2 Rich. II., p. 13), and Corby reverted to the main stem of the Salkelds, of Old Salkeld, represented mean-

while by his elder brother John, husband of Isabel, and their eldest son Richard, husband of Katherine (Flower's Pedigree).

Richard was knight of the shire in 1382, and died in 1388-9, seised of a moiety of the vill of Salkeld and of the manor of Corby (*Cal. Esch.*, 12 Rich. II., p. 109).

The Pedigree of the family, produced at the visitation of Cumberland in 1615 (*Harl. Soc. Pub.*, vol. VII.), is so carelessly thrown together, that its evidence is worthless.

Other Salkelds, of Salkeld, are mentioned in the foregoing records and in the Table appended to this paper. Some of them may have been under-tenants of the manor of Old Salkeld, but to assign to each of them his place in the family pedigree would be a difficult and unprofitable task.

The name "Little Salkeld" which occurs in a record of 1292, is, as the context shows, a clerical error for "Great Salkeld" (*Placita de quo waranto*, 20 Edward I., p. 116).

TABLE OF THE SALKELDS, OF OLD SALKELD.

ROBERT = ALICE, feoffee of Huddlesceugh, early in the thirteenth century.
HUGH, amerced, 1211.
HENRY, juror, 1271.

- JOHN = JOAN. under-tenant, 1292, dead in 1307.
  - RICHARD, pardoned, 1318, M.P., 1328, acquired ½ Salkeld, 1332-3, had confirmation of Corby, 1335, commissioner, 1343 and 1348.
    - JOHN = ISABEL. pardoned, 1330; forester, 1351; executor, 1353.
      - RICHARD = KATHERINE SKELTON of Branthwaite. M.P., 1382; d. 1388-9, seised of Corby and ½ Salkeld.
    - HUGH = CHRISTIANA DE ROSGILL. had Corby, for life, 1369; infirm, 1372; d. 1378-9.
      - HUGH = MARGARET TYMPERON. mentioned, 1388-9; J.P., 1399.
  - JOHN = MARGARET. of Maughanby, will proved, 1358-9.
- THOMAS, attorney, 1281, under-tenant, 1292.
- RANULF.
  - ROGER = MARGARET. mentioned, 1340 and 1351-2, commissioner, 1348, verderer, till 1358.
    - ROGER = JOHANNA. commissioner, 1373; verderer, till 1378; will proved, 1378-9.
      - MARGARET.
      - ALICE.
    - HUGH.
    - THOMAS.
  - THOMAS, vicar of Addingham, 1353.
  - ROBERT, in Ireland 1334.

ART. V.—*Cumberland Ports and Shipping in the reign of Elizabeth.* By P. H. FOX, M.A.

Read at Carlisle, April 15th, 1920.

ON 6th October, 1565 a Royal Warrant was issued to the Lord Keeper to direct commissions under the Great Seal to fit persons in each maritime County and Liberty for the superintendence of all ports, creeks and landing-places of the realm and for the appointment of sworn deputies for each port.

The draft warrant is contained in S. P. Dom. Eliz., vol. 37, No. 47, and begins by reciting the evils done by pirates, both English and foreign, upon the coasts. But from the next document, No. 48, which contains draft articles to be addressed to the Commissioners instructing them in the execution of their duties, it appears that their appointment was directed as much against illegal or unlicensed exports as against piracy, which term seems also to include smuggling.

This is followed (No. 49) by lists of persons fit to be commissioners for the 20 maritime counties and liberties in England and 10 in Wales. Those named for Cumberland are Henricus Dominus Scroope, Henricus Curwyn, Joannes Eglionbey, Georgius Lamplogh and Thomas Middleton.

Next (No. 50) comes a list of all the ports and havens in England and Wales, in which I note in passing that Liverpole is given among the havens in Cheshire. The ports given in Cumberland are eight: Millum, Ravenglas, Calder, St. Bees, Whithaven, Wirkington, Skynburness and The Water of Solwey.

The same series of State Papers contains many returns made by the commissioners for various counties during

the remainder of 1565 and the beginning of 1566, but the Cumberland commissioners evidently considered, as appears by their letter which follows, that their duties were little more than formal, and they required what is now known in the Navy as a "hastener" from the Privy Council before they made their report in April, 1566. This document, which is briefly referred to by Nicolson and Burn (II., 43) and by Hutchinson (I., 32) following them, is of sufficient interest to be given in full. It is contained in S. P. Dom. Eliz., addenda, vol. 13, No. 13 and consists of a certificate and a covering letter.

The covering letter has four endorsements:—

(1). To the right honorable our verie good lordes & others of the Queenes Matie's privye Counsell. In haste haste poste haste with all possible diligence haste.

(2). R. at (?) Warr' the iiiior of May ix a clocke in the morning.

(3). 28 April, 1566. L. Scrope, Mr. Aglionby & Mr. Lamplugh to the Counsell. The certificate of the ports in Cumbd.

(4). To Mr. Coddenham.

"Pleaseth your good Lordshippes to be advertised whereas we dyd receyve from the same the Queenes Maties Commission whereby we were auctorised to enquier of all portes, creekes and landing places within this Shier of Cumberland and also of the townes and inhabitacions scituate upon the same, with what Shippes, boates and vesselles doe belong unto them & everie of them, according to certeyn articles to the said commission annexed, as well to the transporting and conveying of corne, victualles and other unlawfull merchandise furthe of this realme, as also for the receyving of the like hither brought, by way of pyracye or in any other unlawfull manner: Wherein, having not as yet made unto yo. ll. [your lordships] any certificate of the state thereof, for that the traffique both to and fro these portes and places is very little: and now having lately receyved your ll. letters in that behalfe, we have according to our bounden dueties taken vyewe of all suche portes and places, and have at everie of the same gyven ordere unto our deputies for the juste and due execution of our said commission and articles as apperteyneth and as the same do presentlie stand, we have herewith sent unto your ll. our certificat, as we shall not faile from hens-

furthe as occasion shall happen, to doe the lyke. And so we commyt yr good Lordshippes to Almightie God.

At Carlisle the xxviii daye of Aprill, 1566.

Yor good ll. bounden & humble at Commandement.

(signed) H. SCROPE
JOHN AGLIONBY
GEORGE LAMPLUGH."

On the next three pages follows the Certificate, with the endorsement "28 April, 1566. The Commissioners certificate of Ports in Cumberland."

Cumberland. xx Aprilis Anno Regni Reginae Elizabethae octavo.

The certificate and answer of Henry L. Scroope, Henry Curwen, John Aglionbye and George Lamplugh Commyssioners by vertue of the Queenes Maties Commysion bearing date the xvith of October in the viith yere of the Reigne of our Soveraigne Ladye Queene Elizabeth, etc. for Inquiring of Portes, Crekes, and havens in Cumberland and other instructions annexed to the said Commission.

The names of all the havens and crekes in Cumberland.

Bowsteadehill, Skinburness, Ellnefoot, Workington, Parton, Whithaven, Ravenglasse and Powsfoote.

1. Bousteadhill. *(Deputies there, Pattyson gent., William Lydall). One of the Crekes hathe certain inhabitacions nere scituate the same of xiiii householders of the inheritance of Thomas Lorde Dacre And for the government of the said Creeke heretofore there hathe bene none auctorised to lode or unlode.

2. Item. there is no shippes, vesselles, ne any maryners.

1. Skinburness. (Deputies there, Edwarde Musgrave, Hughe Stamper, John Hewet, Guye Talyer). one other of the Creekes hath certayn inhabitations, nere Scituat the same called Skinburness of Ten householders, of the Quene Mat' Inheritance of her graces Landes of the Hollme Cultram And for the governmente of the said Creke or haven heretofore there hath been none aucthorised to license, to lode, or unlode.

2. Item, there is no Shippes, vessels, ne any Maryners.

1. Ellnesfoote (Deputies there: John Senouse esquier, Robert Thwates esq., Thomas Thwates gent., John Osmotherley) an other of the crekes and a small village hallfe of a myle distant from the same, called Ellneborough of xii householders of the

* The deputies' names are in the margin.

Inheritance of John Senhous, And for the government of the said creek heretofore, There hath been none aucthorysed to lycense to lode, or unlode.

2. Item, there is no Shippes, vessels, ne any Maryners.

1. Workington. (Deputies there John Curwen & William Curwen gents Henry Hewetson, Thomas Scale) An other Creke, hath a Towne, nere Scituate the same, called Workington of xxx householders, of the inheritance of Henrye Curwen esquier. But he hath not used to give licence, for the lodinge or unloding there of any Shippes or vessels.

2. Item. There is three several vessels called pickerdes of the burden of vii or viii Tunnes and the owners thereof is John Daye, John Gybson and Leonard Hodgeson. And their trade commonlye is used to goe to Chester and Liverpoole with herrings to make sale there, and to bye Salte And they use to have for government of any of the said vessels three persons. There is no maryners But ffishermen, hired when they trade the said viages.

1. Parton. (Deputies there, Willm Fisher, Willm Gillyet, Anthony Lawrence) Another of the crekes. There is no Towne ne Inhabitacions, nere scituat the same. But houses much dispersed one from another along of the Sea Coasts, of the Inheritance of the Ladye Knevet.* There hath none heretofore used to give licence, for the Lodinge, or Unloding there.

2. Item. There is vii severall vessells called Pickerdes, of the burden of vii, viii, or ix Tunnes And the owners thereof is Thomas Lawrence, John Williamson, John Johnson, Christopher Grayson, James Woodhall, Anthonye Rodderye and Guye Sanderson and their partners And there common trade is to goe to Chester and Liverpoole, with herrings and Killinges to make sale there And to bye Sallte and for the government of any of the said vessels they use to have but three persons. There is no maryners But fishermen hired when they trade the said viages.

1. Whithaven. (Deputies there: Robert Saunders gent., Leonard Brisco, gent., Edmund Ribton, Robert Dove) An other of the Crekes, hath a small village, nere Scituat the same called Whithaven, of vi householders, of the lanndes of late Thomas Challoner knighte,† parcell of the possession of Saynte Bees. There hath none heretofore used to give license for the lodinge or unlodinge there.

* Lady of the Manor of Moresby: heiress of the Moresbies and Pickerings; wife of Sir Henry Knevet. Sold Moresby to the Fletchers.

† Died 14th Oct., 1565.

2. Item. There is one vessel called a Pickerde, of the Burden of ix Tonnes, called the Bee of Whithaven and the Owner thereof is Thomas Myllner and Robarte Grenedall,* who useth to go to Chester and Liverpool with herrings and killinges, to make sale there and to buye Sallte And for the governmente of the same vessell there is no maryners but fishermen hired when they trade, or goe the said viages.

1. Ravenglasse (Deputies there, Nicholas Moore, Thomas Frere, Giles Wawker, Thomas Brownrigge) another of the Crekes hath certayn inhabitations, nere Scituat the same, called Ravenglasse of Ten house-holders, of the Inheritance of William Pennington, And of the Creke and Landinge place the Erle of Northumberland † is chefe Lorde, and governor And for the licence to lode or unlode at the fare tyme, called Saynt James tyde, the said Erle of Northumberland, William Pennington and Thomas Stanleye doth licence.

2. Item, there is iiii several vessels called Pickerdes, of the Burden of ix or Ten Tunne or thereabout The owners whereof is Walter Cadye, William Cadye, William Couplande and Nicholas Harbet, and their parteners, whose common trade is to go to Chester, Liverpool and those Coastes with cariage of herrings and to bye Salte And by estimation foure will serve for the governmente of any of the said vessells whereof be no maryners but fishermen hired, when they trade the said viages.

1. Powsfoote. (Deputies there, Ralphe Latus gent., Thomas Foxe, Thomas Diconson, John Foxe) another of the Crekes There is no Towne ne Inhabitations nere Scituat the same But howses much dispersed one frome another alongst the Sea Coaste, of the Inheritance of Anthony Huddeston Esquier There hath none heretofore used to give license for the Loding or unloding there.

2. Item, There is no Shippes, Vessells ne any maryners.

Item. There is dyvers and sundrye fishermen, inhabiting in severall other Towns and villages more distante from the Sea which hath small Boates of the burden of one Tunne or thereabouts occupied by iiii or vi men onlye in fishinge of herrings and killinges And doth not haunte the said Crekes or havens But doth loade at severall other places at their libertie alongst the Sea Coaste.

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* Robert Grindall was at this time a landowner in Hensingham. If this is the same man I should suppose him to have been a kind of sleeping-partner in the "Bee."

† As Lord of Egremont.

Item, for the Residewe of the Artickles and dewe execution of the same we have appointed and sworne the above named deputies to whom we have given the Chardge of the Instructions and Articles annexed to the Commysion from Tyme to tyme to execute the same.

* Item, thear ys no shippe ne vesseles that do frequent the trafficquinge of merchandise at any of the said havens or crekes, except in the fishing tyme some vessels do come from Chester or Liverpoole and those coasts which bring thence Salte and Iron and some refuse wynes And sometymes wynes frome Scotland bespoken for the provision of the honorable and worshipfull howses in that Countie.

(signed) H. Scrope
Henry Curwen
John Aglionby
George Lamplugh.

Of two obsolete words employed several times in the above, killinges means codfish, and a picard or pickerde is a large sailing-boat or barge formerly used for coast or river traffic (N.E.D.).

Lord Scrope, Warden of the Marches, in an interesting letter to Lord Burghley dated from Carlisle on 28th April, 1572 (S. P. Dom. Eliz., addenda, vol. 21, No. 38), which deals among other matters with the rebellion of the Earls and Dacre, says :—

At these creakes & havens viz. : Ravenglasse, Whithaven, Workington & Elnefoote a shippe of three or four skore tonne may come in at the spring tyde at a full sea And at Skinburness of a hundred tonne or more which is about ten myles from Carlisle. Of these things I think Sir Henry Curwen who is presentlie at London can more at lengthe informe your Lordship if yt shall please the same to have conference with him.

In another Survey taken by the Earl of Lincoln as Lord High Admiral, in 1582, quoted by Monson, Naval Tracts, II., Cumberland comes last of the maritime counties with twelve small ships under 80 tons(80 tons being the standard for this survey) and 195 mariners and fishermen.

* This paragraph is in a different hand.

The total number of vessels given for England and Wales by this survey was 1232 and of mariners "of all sorts" 14295.

For purposes of comparison it may be noted that in 1572 Yarmouth heads the list of English and Welsh ports with 193 ships of all tonnage, while Chester had 49 (S. P. Dom. Eliz., add., vol. 22).

ART. VI.—*The Cowpers of Aldingham in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries.* By H. S. COWPER, F.S.A.

Communicated at Carlisle, April 15th, 1920.

THE Cowpers of Low Furness lived in Scales in Aldingham, Urswick, Adgarley, Baycliffe, Stainton, Bardsey and Saltcotes; and a few over the sands in Cartmel. They made numerous wills which are still preserved, and their names are in the parish registers. With a pleasing breadth of mind they spelled their name Cowper, Couper and Cooper, but generally Cowper, which in the wills and registers is contracted to Cowp'. I rather think the family name is preserved in certain place-names. There is Cowp Scar just off Aldingham, and Cowp Scar and Cowpronpoint just south of Canon Winder Hall in Cartmel. The last form I cannot explain, but these "Scars" are shoals off the coast and I suppose come from the old Norse *sker*, a rock, skerry.

These Cowpers were as a rule yeomen tilling their lands. Some, but not many, turned to trade in the 17th century, and we find chapmen and websters. But in the group I am going to write of, there is nothing to indicate their position except their alliances and their possessions.

Most of these wills I have examined from time to time and made abstracts of, as they are among the Archdeaconry of Richmond wills now at Somerset House. Far be it from me to inflict in detail my studies on the present reader. But there are groups, family parties so to speak, of interest. And when you are working on a pedigree of this sort and the evidences drop

into their places, you find yourself becoming quite familiar, and shaking hands as it were across a bridge of 300 years. If you know the localities and the local history it is a fascinating pursuit.

Now the first Cowper of Low Furness, whose name is on record, came to a violent end. He lived in the 14th century. His name was Johannes le Couper del Scales, which is plain John Cowper of Scales in Aldingham: and he was feloniously slain at Dalton-in-Furness by Adam de Borudale, W. Cokainscalis and William Cocus.

Thomas Dowton de Fournes et Will. Flecher de F[ournes] [de] Ulverston, indictati coram J. [ ] de Ypres, Vicecomite Lancastriae, ad Turnum suum tentum apud Lancaster, de eo quod, cum Adam de Borudale, W[ ] Cockainscales et W[ill] Cocus felonice interfecerunt Johannem le Couper del Scales apud Daltonam in F[ournes], receptaverunt praed. W[ill] Cocum, scientes ipsum Will. fecisse feloniam praed, apud F[ournes], etc.*

John de Ypres was sheriff of Lancashire in 1359 and vice-sheriff in 1363, which gives an approximate date.

Of course John Cowper was not the only one of the name. He was the only one of many Cowpers who had the luck to get slain, and thus enshrined in the pages of the Coucher book. All the same one would like to know why he met this violent end, and if he deserved it.

A hundred and sixty years or so later Cowpers were thick on the land, and were established at Aldingham and Scales in Aldingham. To begin with, I have record of several 16th century individuals who cannot have their position fixed in the pedigree.

a. (1516 and 1517)—RICHARD COWPER of Muchland (b. 1461), JOHN COPER and ROGER COWPER.

Of Richard and Roger, we have knowledge through the Pleadings and Depositions in a suit (1521) between Abbot Alexander and Christopher Berdsey concerning a

* *Coucher book of Furness Abbey*, Chetham Society, vol. 9, new series, p. 145. "Pleadings in the matter of the Sheriff's Tourn in Furness connected with the imprisonment of two men arrested for murder done therein."

Tithe Barn at Bardsey. It was asserted that in 1516 Berdsey caused various persons among whom were some of his own family, Sr John Eglesfield his chaplain, John Coper and others, to assemble and they assaulted violently the abbot's servants and monks—"Sette their cruell and boyst'ous handes upon them"—stole a horse, etc. [1521, *Writ*]. Richard Cowper of Mychelande, *aet.* 60 years and more, was called as witness during the dispute and Roger Cowp' appeared as witness for Berdesey.*

b. (1536) "JOHN COWPER of 25 yerys" was the youngest and junior of eight canons at Cartmel Priory at the suppression of the smaller monasteries in 1536.† I wish I could trace him for certain after this date. He does not appear, like two of the other canons, Thomas Briggs and Bryan Willan, to have joined the ranks of parochial clergy. There is no reason to feel any doubt that he was one of the Low Furness Cowpers, as it will be seen from the wills to be quoted, that they were in continuous association with the Cartmel families.

We now come to the earliest will, with which commences a clear line of descent.

I. JOHN COWPER of Aldingham; whose will is dated Jan. 6, 1543. His wife Katherine ——— was buried at Aldingham, 17 March, 1554, and had issue.

WILL OF JOHN COWPER.

In the name of God so be it in the yere of oure Lorde ye xj°cccc° xliij^th^ the vj^th^ day of January I John Cowper seyke in my bodye holl in my rememberance make this my testamēt and laste will as hereaft ensueth fyrste I beqweth my soule to Almyghtye God & to his mercy & my bodye to be buryed in the Churche of Saynte Cuthbert of Aldingh'm Also I will yt the person have his dutys

* Record Soc. XXXIII. This Roger may be the same as Roger Cowper, Aldingham (3£) Lay Subsidy Roll 37 Hen. VIII. (1545-6). But who were John Copperas (Aldingham) and Roger Copperas (Lece)? *Lay Subsidy Roll*, 14-15, Hen. VIII.; 1523. And how can the name have become Copperas? I have not seen the Roll, which I quote from *Barrow-in-Furness Nat. Field Club*, vol. III., no. 2, pp. 144-5.

† Quoted, with reference to authorities, in Roper's *Churches, Castles and Ancient Halls of N. Lancashire* (1880), p. 57.

as is ryghte to be had Also I wyll have one Tryntall of Masses saide for my soule the daye of my buryall and I wyll yt ev'y prest have a vj^{d} and ev'y scolar 1^{d} also I beqweth a vj^{s} viij^{d} to makyng of a candlestycke in the hye qwhere before the sacrament Also I beqweth a cyrpe cloth to the churche Also I beqweth a x^{s} to the mēdyng of the way to the churche if so be y^{t} the neyburs will bryng the stufe to the grounde Also I beqweth a lv^{li} to my ij doggtters & the chylde y^{t} my wyf is wt ab^{t}? & if so be y^{t} any of them dye then I wyll y^{t} the other ij have ayther of them a xl marke to theyr marege also I wyll y^{t} my wif have the thyrde p'te of all my guds as his ryght for hir to have & the Reyste of all my Gudds to Remayne to my chyld^{n} for my beqwethes also I beqweth ij oxen to Willm harryngton my gndson also I beqweth to leonarde my sone all the plowe geare wt all other husbandrie stufe & my best horse & my harnes also I beqweth to leōnde my son a x^{li} & a laten dobler also I wyll y^{t} my wif & leonard my son have all my fermolds betwyxe them durynge my wif wedowhed & if so be yt my wif marre & taken a husband then I will y^{t} leonarde my sone have all the whole fermold Also I beqweth to Henry Clyfforth my s'vande a vj^{s} viij^{d} also to Mgret Dobson a vj^{s} viij^{d} also to Robt Shari? wif a grye styrke also a scheype to Robt haleland also I wyll yt anyone yt hawe me any money for ony stufe y^{t} I have solde unt them have of evc̄y schyllyng [th]at they awe me 1^{d} remitte them if so y^{t} they pay my executors w^{t}owte the sute of the laws Also I ordeyne & make Kateryne my wyf & lōnde my sone my hole executors & m'stres (i.e. ministrators) of all my goods moveable and unmoveable also I make supvisors to be yt this my wyll be p'formed Walter Curwen gentyłma Wyłłm Cowp Xpofer Cowper & Willm harryngton Recordes herof Walter Curwen & Willm Cowp Xpofer Cowper & Willm harryngton.

(Inventory.) This inventarye of all the goods of John Cowp latelye dep'tyd valowed by thes iiij mē Willm Cowper Willm Harryngton Richard Symson & John Haldland in the yere of or lord God xj^{o}cccc^{o}xiiij the viijth daye of January.

fyrste as many bestes & schepe & horses as is valowed & prized to a xxxiij^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}

It. The corne & the howseholde stufe valowed & prized to xxxiij^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}

It. As [manie]? debts awene in the Countie as is valowed to xxxiij^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d} *

* This will was published in brief abstract in vol. 26 of the Surtees Soc.; and this abstract has been quoted by Roper, Gaythorpe, and in the *Victoria Co. History,* Lancashire.

The "Walter Curwen gentylman," supervisor of this interesting will, was Walter of Flookburgh, and I think also of Urswick, grandfather of Walter of Myreside, and great grandfather of Robert of Carke Hall, said by Stockdale to have been a cupbearer of Queen Elizabeth. This makes it just possible that the John the testator is identical with John, Canon of Cartmel, but it is I think unlikely, as the latter would be only 32 years old in 1543.

Christopher and William Cowper, also supervisors, may have been testator's brothers: and so also I think Leonard Cowper, buried at Aldingham, July 25, 1557. The issue of John and Katherine Cowper:—

1. LEONARD COWPER of whom later (No. II.).
2. JOHN COWPER, no doubt the unborn child of the above will. One of the original governors of Urswick grammar school, founded 1585 by Wm. Marshall. Eleven governors are named in the original charter, of whom the first two are "Nich'um Bardsey armigerum Walterum Curwen * generosum," and nine inhabitants of whom John Cowper is the fourth. He was living 1586 (see will of Richard of Scales, 1586).
3. A daughter married to ——— Harrington had issue William Harrington (see will quoted).
4. A daughter married to Leonard Rolinson (Rawlinson); see will of Richard Cowper, 1585-6.

II. LEONARD COWPER. Of him there is no will: but in the Aldingham register we find the entries of his two marriages, of his burial, and that of his first wife. From the two marriages are two lines of Cowpers, living for generations at Aldingham and Urswick.

The Aldingham (Senior) line:—

His first wife was Elizabeth Curwen to whom he was

* Probably the son of Richard Curwen of Scales and grandson of Walter named as John Cowper's supervisor.

married at Aldingham on Nov. 6, 1545 (36 Hen. VIII.) and who was buried Dec. 29, 1565.* I think this lady was the daughter of Walter of Flookburgh, supervisor to the will of John Cowper, and sister of Richard of Gleaston.† Anyhow her children are clearly distinguishable from the second wife's, not only by the wills, which shew the relationship, but by the fact that they and their descendants in Aldingham were given the names of Richard and Walter, which were characteristic of the Low Furness Curwens, but seem to have been seldom used by Cowpers before this marriage.

The issue of Leonard by this marriage :—

1. RICHARD COWPER, of Scales in Aldingham who married (1) a daughter of William Pettye, and (2) Jane daughter of James Myres (bur. March, 1581, at Aldingham ?). His will dated 17 May, 1585, proved 21 Oct., 1586. He was buried May 29, 1586. at Aldingham.

THE WILL OF RICHARD COWPER (Abstract).

xvij die Maij Anno Dñi 1585 " I Richard Cowp of Scales in Aldinghã " Bodie to be buryed in the ch. yarde of Aldinghã : funerailles & Churche dues taken out of my goods : Tente to go to my next heare accordinge to custom of mann^r of Mucheland To James Paige 1 ewe & 1 lambe to James Woodburne of Windle 1 lambe to Ric Mounte s. of [Henry ?] Mounte 1 lambe Thos Geldert s. of John ditto To John Mountes children 2 yowes & 2 lambes To Janne my wyff all that six & twenty pounds wh^ch her father aweth me & also 4£ more to be taken out of my goods etc Provided if said wife do not prove will nor take on her executions thereof said legacy of xxx^li to be voyd & she shall have no more than her widow pt. (widowright).

To my half brethren Leonarde & Willm Cowp . . & to my sister Janne Cowper & half sisters Elizabeth Cowp' & Genet Cowp'..

* It is worth noting that on the day of Elizabeth Curwen's marriage, there was also a Cowper-Harrington marriage—Thomas Harrington and Margaret Cowper. I have not identified this Margaret. These Harringtons were yeomanry, but I cannot doubt they were descendants of the Lords of Aldingham.

† See J. F. Curwen, *The Pedigree of the family of Curwen of Workington and kindred branches*, p. 96, *et seq.*, " The Curwens of North Lonsdale."

Ann Cowp' . . . My brother Walter & Children Richard Elizabeth & Elene all my goodes moveables etc, more than my wife's widowp'te (if she do not prove my will) to be divided among those nine ; & if my wife do . . . prove the will then to those nine all such of my goods & remaynes more than the above sd xxx^{li}
father in lawe W^{m} petye—Genet freare old cloke best shoes etc. Thomas Prisowe my new shed forke & my pair of iron tongs : John Cowp' my uncle best blue coat father James Myres best dublet Esot Cowp' my neice my great panne Sister Margret brasse pot

Executor I make Jane my wife Supvisors Cosine Willm Curwen Uncle John Cowp', father in lawe James Myers & brother in law Xpofer Paige. Witnesses Willm Curwen Thomas Crowdson Edward Fisher Jno Geldert Xpofer Paidge Wm Woodburne.

In the list of debts other relations occur :—Aunt Leonard Rolinsons wife, Brother-in-lawe James Mounte, Uncle John Cowp', Brother John Cowp (if alive).

The above is rather a long but dilapidated document. It is valuable chiefly for genealogical details. The supervisor "Cosine" Willm. Curwen is one of two persons. He is either William of Furness, son of Richard, who had (as we shall see) been embroiled two years before in a lawsuit with Leonard Cowper's widow Maude (Forton), or else he is the William Curwen who was curate of Ulverston 1601, but transcribed the Aldingham registers in 1603, which he signed ;* but the former is much the most probable.

2. Walter Cowper (of whom later. See No. III.).
3. Margaret, who married Christopher Pearson at Aldingham, Nov. 8, 1584.
4. Ellen, mentioned in wills of Richard her brother and John Cowper, Adgarley, married May 23, 1574, Christopher Page.
5. Jane, bapt. Sept. 18, 1565, at Aldingham (living 1585).

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* See J. F. Curwen's *Curwen pedigree*, page 96, etc

III. WALTER COWPER of the parish of Aldingham (possibly the eldest son); his will dated 23 April, 1605; died 1612. He married Elizabeth ——— who was buried at Urswick, March 31, 1624.

WILL OF WALTER COWPER, 1605 (Abstract).

xxiij Aprilis Anno Dñi 1605. Walt^r Cowp' of p'ishe of Aldinghā; my bodie to be buried in par. church. Elizabeth my wyff shall have thrids [thirds] of all ground, houses, goodes, during widowhead according to custom̄e, I release my sonne Andrew Cowp' of payment off of ffortie pounds so that he releases all his chyldes p't & porcion of my goodes at & after my decease unto my sonne Richard C. for ever according a bill of covenant made xiiij day of present Aprill—My brother Richard—If my sonne Andrew obeys my will I give him (among other things) a gavelocke 2 yockes 2 teams 1 pair swingletrees 2 pair of iron old wyddys one iron horse teame the elder pare of shod wheeles a pair of wane rathes a cowp & a cowptree a plogh & coult^r

To Jane Bolton dau. of Thomas my son in lawe 5^li of those 7^li he oweth me. His youngest dau ffraunces Bolton. To Anne Gardner my dau. Tomasin childe. To John Ashburner son of my dau. Elin the cow and her calf which she and her husband now have in their use and custodie. To John Ashburner I forgive the debt his father francis oweth me. To son in lawe Robt Gibson & I shall make his marriage goods up to xxx^li. To the poor of Aldingham parish I give vj^s viij^d.

Executor Richd Cowper my naturall sonne. Supervysers the Right worshippfull John P^ston (Preston) esqyer George Gilpin Esquier Richard Gilpin P^son of Aldingha John Mount of bolton. Witnesses Richard Gilpin p^son, ffraunces Gilpin, Willm Curwen Jurat.

An inventory of about 67 lines (1612, xj. May) contains among other items:—

horses x^li geldshepe xv^li styrkes & calfes xv^li oxen & young bese xvj^li bigg v^li xiij^s brass & pewter iij^li iiij^s meale & malt vj^li iii^s 8^d 4 silver sgentes (signets) 2 rings xxvj^s 8^d Swine xx^s all manor of husbandrie geare iiij^li xvj^s.

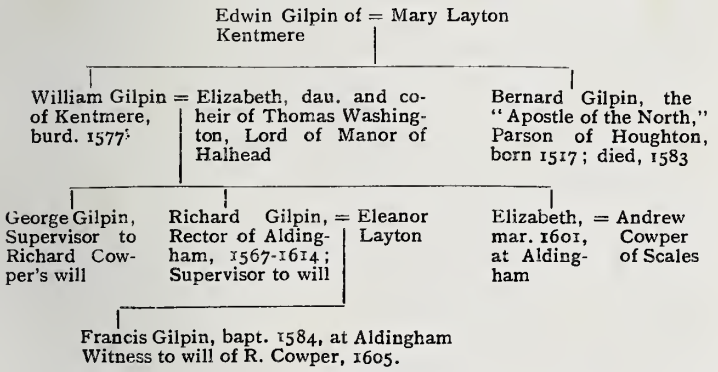
Total 181^li 12^s 8^d. Funeral xlvj^s v^d.

The will is endorsed "Master Cowp' Testo po^r Aldingham p'bat xvj maii A° 1612."

It is peculiar in this will that the testator makes his second son executor. It should be observed that

"natural" is undoubtedly used in its old sense of "legitimate"; the will of Richard in 1613 leaves no doubt about that. This appointment would be explained by some difference between testator and Andrew his eldest son, but on the other hand the supervisors and witnesses are all the relatives of Andrew's wife Elizabeth Gilpin, whom he had married in 1601.

This will introduces us to a group of some interest. John Preston, "esqyer," was the builder of the manor house at Furness Abbey, now incorporated into the railway hotel.* The relationships of the various Gilpins are as follows :—



Richard Gilpin was rector of Aldingham for 47 years, and had a numerous family born there. His uncle Bernard of Houghton-le-Spring was his contemporary and may well have visited him at Aldingham; but it is curious (in view of the fact that for nearly half a century he was rector of one parish) he has been unnoticed by genealogists who have paid so much attention to the other divines who sprang from the stock of Kentmere hall.

* A good view of this house, a spacious Elizabethan one, is to be seen in the fine old copperplate engraving published by the Society of Antiquaries in 1727.

"William Curwen Jurat," is the transcriber of the Aldingham registers in 1603.

The issue of Walter Cowper of his wife Elizabeth :—

1. ANDREW COWPER of Green in Scales, of whom later (No. IV.).
2. RICHARD of Scales, bapt. Sept. 30, 1576, at Aldingham.

WILL (Short abstract) of RICHARD COWPER.

Jan. 10, 1613. Rich Cowper of Scales My body to be buried beside my father in ch: yard of Aldinghā : 3rd p'te of my goodes to mother Elizabeth widdow & bedding bedstockes etc.

It^{m} Ann Gardner my sister Thomasin dau xx^{ti} nobbles. Edmonde Gibson sister Margrett sonne xx^{ti} nobbles. Eliz. Gardner my sister Thomasin dau. xx^{ti} nobbles. Cozen Ric Curwen of Kellatt my corn? (or Cowp' i.e. cart?) which is now in his custody. Forgives debts owed by Ric' Mounte, Stephen Cowpe, etc. To poor of Aldingham xx^{s} to poor of Dalton xij^{s} poor of Urswick x^{s}. To Cousin Robt Curwen of Ulverston a gold ring & best suite of apparell : all rest of goodes to brother fisher's children equally.

Supervysors Cozen Robt. Curwen of Cartmell, Thomas Curwen of becklife, Leonard Sawrey of Colton & Ric Mounte.

A long inventory of goods, total 139^{li} 8 5^{d} ; among debtes owing to the testator, Robte Curwen Ulveston xxij^{s}, Thomas Curwen of Becklife xxxj^{s}. Will proved 6 Feb., 1613.

He evidently was unmarried, and aged 37 in 1613. Curiously he mentions none of his elder brother's Gilpin relatives, but the Curwens loom large. Robert of Ulverston is the glover and patron of Urswick, 1620. Cozen Robert of Cartmel the wellknown Robert of Carke hall.* Thomas of Beckliffe is, I fancy, identical with Thomas of Roose in Mr. Curwen's pedigree : but Richard of Kellatt I have not identified.

3. ELIZABETH, bapt. March 29, 1568 ; married July 11, 1582, Thos. Bolton, by whom she had issue Jane and Francis.

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* Robert of Carke in his long will printed in Stockdale's *Annals of Cartmel*, mentions his cousins Anthony and Ann Cowper, but I cannot identify them.

4. ELLEN, bapt. June 11, 1582; married Dec. 9, 1599, Francis Ashburner, and had a son John.
5. THOMASIN, married Oct. 18, 1590, Christopher Gardner of Beckliffe, and had issue Ann and Elizabeth.
6. MARGARET, bapt. Feb., 1584; married August 5, 1604, Robert Gibson, and had issue Edmund.
7. A daughter ——— who married —— Fisher and had issue.

IV. ANDREW COWPER of Green in Scales, the eldest son, bapt. Nov. 29, 1573; married February 16, 1601, to Elizabeth Gilpin daughter of William of Kentmere and niece of Bernard Gilpin as above shewn. He unfortunately left no will, but administration of his goods was granted, August 18, 1642, to Elizabeth Cowper his granddaughter.

Andrew Cowper had a family of four, and in both this and the succeeding generation we find the Curwen Christian names perpetuated. He had a son Walter born in 1604, who I think must have been the Walter buried in 1669, at Sunbreak meeting house burial ground. However this may be, I cannot help thinking that the connexion with the Gilpins of Kentmere may explain the statement that the sequestrated manor of Rydal was in 1651 let privately to a Walter Cowper for £100, and he assigned the lease to Roger Barwicke a "dangerous delinquent." I have no actual evidence that this was the son of Walter of Scales and Elizabeth Gilpin, but it seems probable.*

From this Andrew and Elizabeth were descended some four or five generations of the name at Scales in Aldingham—among them being Thomas Cowper, deacon of Blawith (b. 1604, d. 1696); the Rev. W. Ashburner,

* This Roger Borwick or Barwicke was servant to Sir Jordan Crosland who married Bridget Fleming. See Magrath, *Flemings at Oxford*, vol. I., p. 372, also Miss Armitt's *Rydal*, p. 554.

vicar of Urswick, and I presume the Rev. James Cooper, d. 1839, incumbent of Catesby, Northampton, to whom with other members of his family, who were yeoman of Scales, there is a mural tablet in Aldingham Church.

The Urswick (or Junior) Line.

Returning to Leonard, No. II., who married twice. He married a second time on July 6, 1567, at Aldingham, Maude Forton or Fortune. His own burial took place May (or June), 1580.

In 1583-4 we have evidence of her in a law suit with the Curwens :—

EXCHEQUER BILL, LANCASTER, 26 Eliz., No. 43.

Wm. Curwen of ffurness sheweth that whereas Thomas Preston esqyer was lawfully possessed for dyvers yeares by letters patent seale of exchequer of and in one water corne myll called sea myll in mytchland in ffurnes w^th^ . . . . . all moultures, etc. belonging which have come by meane conveyance to yor orator Willm Curwen, but the deeds have come into the possession of Chr'ofer Dobson, Leonarde Sympson and Maude Cowp' Wydowe late wyf of Leonarde Cowp' deceased, tenants and inhabitants within Mychland who have been accustomed to grynde their corne and graine at the sd myll being hir māties myll, as other the tenants and inhabitants in Mychland afsd doe.

Who was Maude Forton? There is a group of 30 entries in the Aldingham register, and the name is spelled both Forton and Fortune. The family died out soon, but evidently it had been one of standing in Aldingham ; for in the will of Lord Harrington of Aldingham, May 21, 1457,* he appoints John Forton "generosum" one of his four executors. "Generosum" cannot mean anything but that he was armiger, which indeed one would expect to be the rank of an executor to such a document. In 1609, John fforton married "Dorritie" Gilpin. I wish I could run these Fortons to earth, but so far I have failed.†

* Quoted by Mr. Harper Gaythorpe in *Furness Lore*, p. 93.

† There were Fortons of Forton in Cockerham, but little seems on record of them (*Victoria County Hist. of Lancashire*, VIII., 107-8). There was also a Sir John Forton, whose arms were *gyronny of eight or and sable* Papworth's) *Ordinary*, and Glover's Roll, but I can find no more about him.

The issue of Leonard and Maude were :—

1. LEONARD of Much Urswick of whom later, No. V.
2. JOHN of Adgarley in Urswick ; will dated 29 June, 1598 ; proved 1599 ; he married Isabel.
3. WILLIAM, bapt. Sept. 4, 1578, at Aldingham and whose two sons Leonard and William were in London 1598.
4. ELIZABETH (bapt. March 28, 1568, at Aldingham ?).
5. JENNET, bapt. Oct. 16, 1571, at Aldingham.
6. ANN (bapt. June 29, 1569, at Aldingham ?).

V. LEONARD COWPER of Much Urswick, whose will is dated Feb. 22, 1593, and whose wife Elizabeth was living, 1619.

WILL OF LEONARD COWPER (Abstract).

22 Feb. xxxj Eliz. (1593) Body to be buried at Churchyard at Urswick. The Right & Interest & tythe of my tenement with appurtenances to Willym Cowper my eldest sonn when he comes to xxj years till which time wyf Elizabeth to hold possession of it "if she lives so longe & be my wife towards the bringing up of my children." "It is my wyll that my said sonne Wyllm̄ shall give everyone of his iiij brethers Thomas Edwd Walter & John iij^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d} within towe yeares next after he have had occupation of my tenement" over and beside their children portions & "to geive the said sommes out of my medoe in depe medows and called by the name of hucklenpke" . . . . . To son William all husbandrie geare after decease of wyfe and also "one sylver sponne" and to John my son "another sylver sponne." Elizabeth my wife hole executor of all goods and to pay debts and expenses & for supervisors I desire Walter Cowp' of Scalles John Gardner of Conckle & Thomas Waynes & Thomas Cowp' to be dessyring them for Gods sake to see this my wyll be performed.

Witnes Xpofer Pette Thomas ffell yonger Thomas Waynes Thomas Cowp Willm Waynes Edwd Walker.

Inventory praysed xvj Marche, 1593, totall xxxviiii^{li} vj^{s} viiij^{d}
Among the debts—Elizabeth Cowper my sister xij^{li}
funerall expenses xxiij^{s} sum̄a declar'one xxiiij^{li} xviiij^{s} viij^{d}

This will which is in a very difficult hand to decipher, contains much about property.

Seeing that his mother was only married in 1567, therefore when he made his will in 1593 enumerating five children, he could not have been more than 25 years old; his baptismal register is not found. He may have been born in 1568, 9, or 70, and some of his sons may have been twins, for their baptisms are not recorded.*

From Thomas, apparently his second son, were descended at least five more generations of Cowpers at Urswick and six generations at Saltcoats or Sandside near Ulverston, and at Hawkshead, including the present writer. Their marriages generally were with Fells, Ashburners, Myres or Gardiners, all local Low Furness stocks. The wills of the Urswick Cowpers suggest a gradual decline in fortune, as far as I can judge, although they maintained their position as yeoman. One of them, Edward of the Flanne (1625-1687) turned Quaker, and there is a full record in the Quaker register at Devonshire house. Some of them were fined for attending conventicles at Swarthmoor in the time of the Fells (1684) and several of them were married at Swarthmoor hall.

The direct ancestor of the Saltcoats and Hawkshead Cowpers was William Cowper of Saltcoats 1651-1737, the son of Jasper of Sunbreak, who was grandson of Leonard whose will, 1593, has been already quoted.

* It is not certain that the Elizabeth baptized in 1568 was the same as Elizabeth his sister.

- JOHN COWPER of Aldingham; Lay Subsidy Roll, 1523; will dated 1543: bequests to Aldingham church. Walter Curwen, sup'-visor. = KATHERINE, buried at Aldingham, March 17, 1554.
  - LEONARD COWPER buried at Aldingham, July 25, 1557.
  - RICHARD COWPER of Muchland, *aet.* 60, 1521; Pleadings and deposition, Record Society, XXXIII.
  - CHRISTOPHER COWPER, supervisor, will of John C.
  - ditto.
  - a canon of Cartmel Priory, age 25, 1535.
  - LEONARD COWPER, buried at Aldingham, 1580.
    - 1 = ELIZABETH CURWEN, a near relative of Curwen of Carke and Wm. Curwen, curate of Aldingham (1603). Married, 1545 and buried, 1565 at Aldingham. Probably a dau. of Walter Curwen (see J. F. Curwen's pedigree No. 4.)
      - RICHARD COWPER of Scales in Aldingham; will dated 1585, proved 1586; buried May 29th, 1586, at Aldingham.
        - 1 = ——, dau. of Wm. Pettye
        - 2 = JANE, dau. of James Myres; buried 1581, at Aldingham.
        - ANDREW COWPER of Green in Scales, bapt. March, 1573; married February 16, 1601, at Aldingham; administration granted 1642 to Elizabeth (granddaughter). = ELIZABETH, daughter of William Gilpin of Kentmere, sister of Richard Gilpin, rector of Aldingham, and niece of Bernard Gilpin, The Apostle of the North.
          - *a quo* Cowpers of Scales and Gleaston.
      - WALTER COWPER of par. of Aldingham; will 23 April, 1605, proved 1612. = ELIZABETH, buried at Urswick, 1624.
        - RICHARD COWPER of Scales; bapt. 1576; will, 1613, proved same year.
        - ELIZABETH, ELLEN, THOMASIN, MARGARET.
      - 3 daus.
      - LEONARD COWPER of Much Urswick; will 1593. = ELIZABETH, living 1619.
        - THOMAS COWPER of Much Urswick; will, 1623; buried same year at Urswick. = ...
          - *a quo* Cowpers of Urswick, Saltcoats, nr. Ulverston and Hawkshead.
      - WILLIAM, JOHN, ELIZABETH, ANNE, JENNETT.
    - 2 = MAUDE FORTON or FORTUNE, married at Aldingham, 1567; defendant in a suit, 1583-4, with William Curwen of Furness.
  - JOHN COWPER living 1586 (will of Richard), one of the 1st governors of Urswick School.
  - a dau. = LEONARD ROLINSON; will of Richard C., 1585.
  - a dau. = HARRINGTON.

Art. VII.—*James Jackson's Diary,* 1650 *to* 1683. By Francis Grainger.

Communicated at Carlisle, April 15*th,* 1920.

THIS diary consists of a series of manuscript books of paper, bound together in boards and leather, now much dilapidated. The volume seems to have been deposited in the parish chest at Holme Cultram church, if it is the old book mentioned in some late entries on its blank pages as follows :—

Jno. Barwise fm.School from Lammas to Martinmas, 1775. November 13, 1775. Begun to go to School to Newton School. Done with writing an old Survey Book got out of the church chest, Nr. 10th, 1775.

St. Rook's School house repaired November 15th, 1775.

Jeremiah Barwise to Joseph Penrice from Febr. 20th, 1794 to June 1 1794 & so Returned he wrote this on a Sunday after Dinner being going to Causeway head that Afternoon & so FINIS.

Ruth Barwise Junr. wrote this. Ruth Barwise at Nook. Ruth Barwise aged 15 Years 4 Months being 5 feet 7½ inches in Height wrote this on Sunday the 26th Day of May in the year of our Lord 1792.

The book was lent me by Mr. Atkinson of Abbey Cowper and by his kindness I make the following extracts.

The first of the original parts begins with a neat title, "James Jacksonn Receipts and Disbursements since Aprill 30th 1650." On the verso are copied the letters from Wm. Brisco, steward, dated Crofton, May 19 and 31, 1651, and from John Barwis, dated Moorthwaite, May 30, 1651. Then follow lists of precepts at the Head Court of Holme Cultram from April 30, 1650, to March 11, 1652, and other notes, of which one is "Receipt about the demaine Lands att Abbey 1649 . . . Recd by Sr Will Musgrave." This is followed by lists of persons

admitted to tenements and their fines from April 30, 1650 to May 19, 1654, and then by miscellaneous accounts and notes, which, since the writer filled his book as he found convenient, without regard to consecutive order, are by no means easy to disentangle. But out of the mass of entries a selection is given here sufficient to form a picture of the man and his surroundings and the story of a corner of Cumberland under Cromwell and Charles II.—not without general interest. The annotations to the text perhaps make further introduction unnecessary, but I desire to acknowledge the assistance of our Editor who has read the transcript with the original diary and added a number of notes.

JAMES JACKSONN RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS SINCE APRILL 30th, 1650.

[Business at a Manor Court.]

An Account of the p[re]ceipts wch came abt att the head Court holden at Holme Cultr'. April 30th, 1650.

Robt. Carr, 20s. debt. et 1s. p. ex: to Jo: Peathouse ..	1	8	
Arthur Peat, 13s. 6d. debt et 1s. p. ex. to Robt. Henson	1	1½	
Robt. Biglands, 4s. 6d. de'. et 6d. p. ex. to Jam: Rays[on]	0	4½	
Jo:* Watson, 20s. de'. et 1s. p. ex. to Mary Barras ..	1	8	
Will: Tindall, 20s. de'. et 1s. p. ex. to Mary Barras ..	1	8	
Will: Langcake, 1s. deb. et 1s. p. ex. Edw. Tomlinson	0	1	
Robt. Hayton, 2s. 6d. de'. 1s. ex. to Robt. Hewson ..	0	2½	

[etc.—The next shows how juries were entertained.]

Holme Cultr': Disbursemts: at the head Court holden April 30th, 1650.

Imp's. In meat and drinke and some othr expen'. ..	1	9	7
Expenses att the side Court May 30, 1650: In drinke and Tobacco	0	5	4
Expen'. att the side Court: June 21°, 1650, In drinke and Tobacco	0	6	0
Expen' att the side Court July 12° 1650 In drinke and Tobacco	0	5	0
Acounted for to the Recevr. ..	2	5	11

[Wreckage.]

Nou'b': 23d. 1650. A Barrell of Rended [i.e. rendered] Tallow

* "Jo:" i.e. John.

found upon the Sea Shore by Antho. Langcake and othrs seized on for the Stats use, valewed and prised by them whose names are underwritten Willim: Barwis. Jam: Wise Jo: Sime.

Tallow deliv'ed to Will Brisco esqre. by his owne Order.

Imp's. to Wm: Brisco : esqre. six stones	1	10	0
pd. to Antho: Langcake one stone	0	5	0
pd. to men that found it	0	5	0
pd. to Robt. Chambr	0	2	6
pd. for Carriing to Cannonby [i.e. Jackson's house] ..	0	5	0
pd. for a sheit to wrap it in all eaten by mice	0	5	0
pd. in ex. att Cockermouth	0	2	0
Allowed to Anthony Langcake his owne am'cimt. ..	0	3	4
Spent att Carlile by Langcake order from the Gov'nor	0	5	6
Disbur' : in toto : ..	3	3	4

[James Jackson appoints his brother as his deputy.]

By vertue of a grant from the Trustees [the Manor being in the hands of the Commonwealth] to me directed for officiating the Bayliffes place within the Lo:shipp of Holme Cultram in the Countie of Cumberland, To collect and receive all and singuler the Rents, Revenues, fines and amercim'ts estreates of Courts Leets and Courts Baron view of franckpledge and other perquisitts and p[ro]fitts belonging to or happening within the said Mann[or] for the use and benefitt of the said Trustees ; And whereas there is certaine p[ar]cells of ground being in sev[er]all places within the said Lordship late in the possession of Will: Brisco of Souterfield gent.' belonging to him as Bayliffe and ffo[re]ster, These are therefore to autherise you John Jackson by vertue of the sd grant, to enter unto the ground lieing in sev'all places and to lett, sett, till, and occupie at yor pleasure, Rendering unto me satisffac'on for the same. Given under my hand the two and twentie day of Decembr: 1650. Jam: Jacksonn.

[A sturgeon? under the Commonwealth.]

Memor' : the therd of March a fish being found at Skinburness by Robt Hudderth, valewed and prised by Jo: Messingr of Skinb: Jo: Hayton of Mabroug Hayrig and Jo: Huddert of Skinb: to ijs. given to the finder js. the same was p[ro]ffered for ijs. vjd. and none would buy it.

[Instructions to the Bailiff and Constables.]

To the Bayliffe of Holme or his Deputy. You are to pay all p[re]ceepts concerning Colt parke and to sum̄on all persons whomsoeu' concerned therein to be att the next Court to the

end that all matters in difference touching the p[re]misses may be determined. given att Crofton May 19°, 1651 : Will Brisco steward.

Y[ou] are to sum̄on the p'sons here named to appeare as witnesses viz. each upon paine of xxs. Jo: Barne, Jane Ostell, Mabell Hayton, Jenet Robinson.

Holme Cult.' The last of May, 1651. James Jac'—Ye stewards pleasure is that those goods for Colt park p'ceipts distreand [i.e. distrained] contrary to his order be forthwth deliv'ed to the p[ar]ties, Hayton and Kirkbride wife againe and or before the next Court you shall receive furth' order therein. Soe I rest yor Lo: friend Will Brisco Dep. Steward. To Ja: Jac' bayliffe here.

To all and ev[er]ye Constables of ye Psh of Holme Cultr'. Whereas I am crediblely informed that the p'sons whose names are underwritten have contemptuously disobeyed sev[er]all orders and warants made by Will Brisco esqre. Steward wthin ye Mañor of Holme Cultr. These are to require y^u and ev[er]ye of you to bring the p'sons whose names are underwritten before me on Tuesday next by Nine a Clocke or to get such sufficient suerties to be bound to answer there sev[er]all [indictments ?], and to be furth' p'ceeded wth according to Justice and hereof you are not to faile Given under my hand at Morethwate, May 30th, 1651. Jo: Barwis. [To] Jam: Jac'. John Jac'. Robt. Chambr Jo: Chambr de Blackdike.

[James Jackson's effects in 1651.]

A Copie of my Inventory taken by Mr. Peter Senhouse Augt. 7th, 1651 : Imps: 4. Kine 2. Calues 1 Cubbert. 2. Brasse potts. 2. copper pans 5. pudder [i.e. pewter] dishes 5. Handles [i.e. bowls with handles] 2. fatts [i.e. vats] 1 caffe [chaff] bed 1 covr cloath 2 Happins 2 paire of Sheets 3 Cheeses 1. table 2 bedsteeds, 1. Chaire. Witnes hereof Robt. Chamb^r that writt the same.

[A draper's bill.]

Febr. 14th, 1651. Cloath and triming taken on Edwd. Smith att Carlile. Imps. three yds and a halfe at 6s. 2d. a yd. 1-1-7. 2 dozen of button for makeing ye same 0-2-8. 1 doz and a halfe of greene buttons 0-1-9. Silke for ye same 0-1-0. Blacke thred 0-0-2. Oweing to the sd. E.S. £1-7-2.

[Sunday drinking.]

Memorand' the 23th May, 1652, being the Lords Day James Miller of Abbay did sell drinke in the Tyme of the Exercise [i.e. divine service] both forenone and afternone till they whose

names are underwritten became drunke and soe fell to quarrelling in the church yeard to the losse of much bloode in the p'sence of Robt. Smith de Brownrigg, Tho. Parkin de Swinstie, Edwd. Brisco iu' [i.e. junior] with 4tie more. fighters, Tho. Skelton, John Stockdell, Rich:Peet, Arthur Robinson. Drunke on the same day Tho: Jefferson, Jo: Newton.

[Charges at the Sessions.]

July 15th, 1652: att the general Session for the publique peace for this Cou'tie att the Cittie of Carlile. Jo: Sealby. Indited six seu'all times vizt, twice by Tho: Dand of Slightholme, twice by Robt Barnes of ye same, twice by Robt Wise of Pellatha. Will: Smith, his sonne and his wife and his man Browne. Indited by George Langcake for a ewe killing and cariinge away. Will. English of Rabby Indited by [Ba—?] Peate for three stoukes of Bigg. Jo: Stockdell, James Kirkland and Jo: Paipe Indited by Jo: Brisco and Jo: Asbrige for graueing flax [i.e. cutting peat] on high more. All these Contrary to paine.

[A Sabbath-breaking party.]

July 18th, 1652. The names of those that was adrinkeing on the Lords day att the house of James Miller in Abbay. 1 Robt Smith 2 his wife 3 his sonne John 4 and his daught' 5 Hugh Askew 6 Jo: Wilkinson 7 Antho: Austin 8 Jenet Winder 9 Jenet Waite 10 Will Langcake 11 his wife 12 Jo: Hayton 13 Powlie wife 14 Tho: And'son wife 15 Jo: Austin 16 Ellin Becke: 17 Mary Austin 18 Jane Chamb^{r}: 19 Antho: Pen'. daugh'. 20 Robt. Smith de Rayby 21 Robt. Cham' wife N'ton 22 Widdow Dand 23 Tho: Fell 24 Jo: Bigley and his wife 25 Eliza: Askew.

[Farming incidents.]

The 23th of July, 1652: Jo: Wilson did strike downe my new wall.

July 23: A cast of Bees destroyed in Wedholm Wood by Jo: Browne and Will English.

July 24th, 1652. John Stamp, my man clipt the Ramme and younge ewe, the same day the wolle was on the tipp [i.e. tup] was valewed by Ric: Winder to xijd.

August 23th, 1652. Being the Lords day. Tho: Jefferson hurt my swine valewed and prised [*blank*] driven home and there hurt. Witnes ffra: Pattinson and his man Edward Baccus. Jo: Stamp Geo. Milner Grace Crosse can witnes that Tho: Jeffersons owne beasts and divers others was divers times in ye Corne and his hedges did alwaies lie downe to the sight of divers p'sons contrary to anciant Paine.

[Specimen of J. Jackson's accounts. It will be noticed that he acted as moneylender to his neighbours.]

Octo : 30th, 1652.	£	s.	d.
Pd. to my m^r [master] att Ribton that I recd of Mathew Bell for his use upon a bill	1	10	0
lent Tho: Harrison Dec'. 5th, 1652	0	6	0
lent Robt. Huggan	0	3	0
owing by Mr. Dunbar for halfe a beefe to be paid att Candlemas next, 1652	0	18	0
Geo: Peat for Sandenhouse Acre att Candlemas next and other things	1	2	10
Jo: Paipe behind for his bond, 1651, due to Mr. Winstanley	0	4	10
more for my pt of a grasse and my part of Milne close. for grasse 2s. 8d. for Milne Close 6½d...	0	3	2½
lent Geo: Miller Dec. 11th, 1652 till tweltide next ..	0	6	0
Willim Tindall to pay to me att Candlemas next ..	0	9	5
Ellin^r Barwis for halfe a bushell of Rye	0	4	8
Peter Bell oweing to me for land in the Demaine ..	1	2	0
Robt Chamb^r oweing to me upon his accounts ..	1	5	0
lent to Mr. Brisco till Candlemas next 1652	1	0	0
lent Robt. Smith for a weekes time Ja: 5th	2	0	0
more oweing by the said Robt Smith for am'cimts ..	0	4	6
more for Tho: Addison fees payable by Robt. Smith	0	5	6
John Barwis for his fine for Dryholme to haue beene pd. on Candlemas day last past, 1652	3	6	8
lent Geo: Miller ffeb 13th, 1652. wrought Apr 10th, 10 days	0	5	0
lent Robt. Highmore ffeb 14th, 1652	0	10	0
Cuth: Waite upon account oweing to me due att Cand. last	0	6	0
lent Geo.: Peate March 31th iijs. for hay ijs. ..	0	5	0
lent Nicho: Bibie the 11th of Aprill	0	1	6
Mary Austin due by Ord^r for Corne in Colt pk ..	0	14	0
lent Geo: Harrison the 24 Apr. for one weeke ..	0	5	0

[Distraints.]

January 15th, 1652 : Md': Distreened on Mr. Winstanley[s] Barne for a yeares Rent in Areare to the Lords of this Mannor ended at Mchmas last past, Corne, and Hay valewed and prised to Eighteene poundes : by those foure ten'ts whose names are under written—Robt. Harrison of Sowterfield. Robt Chamb^r of Newton Arlosh. Tho: Barne of ffarmery Cowp'. Geo: Harrison of Sowterfield.

April 26th, 1653. Goods distreened for Rich: Wind^{r} being the goods of Jo: Pape of Sevill, deceased, valewed and prised by Robt. Stephenson and John Watson as followeth upon a p[re]ceipt bearcing 2th April, 1653. Imp': one Great Chist—0-10-8. one bedsteed with some cloathes on it—0-3-4. big unthreshed —0-3-4. one stone trough—0-1-0. one drinke stand and one lossett [i.e. wooden tray]—0-0-8—sum £0 -19-0. The said goodes sold and deliu'ed to Elizabeth Paipe and the said Robt Stephenson and John Watson hath ingaged themselves to pay to me on Candlemas day next the one halfe of the foresaid xixs. and the oth^{r} halfe the 26th of Aprill, 1654.

Tho: Benson cow distreined for Jo: Lamplughs money prised by [*erased*] to ij£ and deliv'ed this 16th day of June to Tho: Knubley for Jo: Lamplughs use recd in the ou^{r}plus is. xjd. to be deliv'ed to the said Tho: Benson. Witnes upon the deliu^{r}ye Geo. Harrison Wm: Harrison.

[Two citations.]

By the Comrs: for Sequestrac'on: You are hereby required to appeare before us att Carlile on Wednesday the 22th of this Instant, to answer such things as on the behalf of the Comonwealth shalbe obiected agt. you: given under our hands att Penrith, March 10th, 1652: Tho. Chraister. Tho: Langhorne. To James Jackson of Swinstie these.

Honest friend. By ord^{r} from the Com^{s} for Sequestr'. these are to giue yo^{w} notice that yo^{w} appeare before them att Carlile to Morrow being the second of this Instant to answer to such Questions as shall then be demanded of yo^{w} in the behalfe of the Comonwealth and herein yo^{w} are not to faile. Straberiehow Sept. the first 1653. Tho: Watson Agt. p[ro] Sequestr'. To James Jackson of Holme these.

[A Church Collection.]

A Collection for Marleborough in our Church, Sept. 4th, 1653. The sume of xjs. pd. to Mr. Dickens Minister there.*

[Parish Registers under the Commonwealth.]

Jan. 21th, 1653. It was this day agreed between Robt. Wittie [Schoolmaster] on the one p'tie and James Jackson on the other p'tie concerning the Register place vizt. the said Robt. Wittie is to pay yearely and eu'ye yeare for three years the sume of xxs. to the said James Jackson and att eu'ye yeare end, to show unto the said James Jackson the Register booke: witnes hereof

* At Urswick in Furness, on Aug. 7th, 1653 "for the Reliefe of the Inhabitants of Marlborowe" 17s. 11d. was collected.

John Jackson and Robt. Chamb^{rs} in Robt. Chamb^{rs} butterye the day & yeare abovesaid.

Money recd. for burialls for the yeares (52) & (53).

Imps. Nov. 6th, 1652, bu' in Ecle' Antho : Barwis ..	0.	2.	0
Aug. 16th, Jo: Biglands of Highlawes	0.	0.	2
Octo: 4th, Uxor Robt. Latymir	0.	0.	2
ffeb. 13th, Elis Waite of Mireside	0.	0.	2
	0.	2.	6
Disb: for the p'ishe. pd to Antho: Wilkinson and Will Chamb^{r} for killing. 2. ffoxes. pd Dec. 4th, 1653 and charges sustained att Court	0.	2.	5
The 16 : men pd in to Jo: Jackson and his ffelowes wch compleats the sume recd.	0.	0.	1

Augt. 1th, 1657. The difference ordrd by Wm. Brisco esqre. and Jo:Barwis esqre. as apeares under both their hands in their said Order. baptized first after the said Ord^{r} was a child of Robt [*erased*] of Newton Arlosh : first buried Jo: Lightfoot, baptized Augt. ijth and Jo: Lightfoot buried Augt. 3d, 1657. Published in the church first after Ord^{r} John Dreape and Tho: Austin.

[Wolsty Castle dismantled and stones used to build his brother John's house at Hayrigg.]

Wolstie Castle puld downe by those whose names are under written in ye yeares 1652 and 1653. John Jackson, Clemt. Hayton: Tho: Ragg: Robt. Benson : John Porter. Robt: Hewson. Workemen that wrought the stones att Hayrigge—John Rabell, John Porter, Robt. Hewson : Jo: Thackthwaite, George Turner : John Barne.

☞ Mary Chamb^{r} said she did stop Jo: Jac. and two of his men pulling down Wolstie Castle. She spoke it Aug. 23th, 1654. Robt. Halliday did the like.

☞ John Jackson house viewed and measured Aug 22th, 1654. In length, 14. yeards. In bredth, 6. yeards. In height, 5. yeards, wth 2. chimneys and one staire case. the bredth of the wall, 2. foot. Witnes, Mr. Jo: Chamb^{r} Charles Chamb^{r} Wm. Chamb^{r} Jo: Chamb^{r} Blackdike, Mathew Glaist^{r} Jo: Revill, a workeman, Jam: Jackson.

☞ August 22th, 1654. The Ruine of the walls of Wolstie Castle vewed by us Mr. Chamb^{r} of Raby-coat, Mr. Charles Chamb^{r} : Mr. Will Chamb^{r} : Jo: Chamb^{r} : Blackdike. Mathew Glaister, Jam: Jackson, Robt: Chamb^{r}. The names of the houses puld downe in Wolstie Castle.

☞ Imps. The Hall. one Tower at ye end of the Hall. one great Barne. one Larder house. one Long gallerye. one Chappell wth a Chamb^r at ye end. one Chamb^r called Michall Scots Chamb^r. one House called ye prison. one Tower above the sd House. one Long Bier [byre]. one Great Stable.

We valew the Ruine of walls and houses thereto belonging to £500 and the stones in Jo: Jac' house to £100.

☞ Janu. 20th, 1654. The day abouesaid did Tho: Dand say unto Ja: Jac: that if he said anie thinge agt his brother Jac'. concerning Wolstie Castle, all the Holme should not keepe the said Ja: Jac. but they would banish him. Witnes hereof Moungo Wise, Rich: Greahme.*

[James Jackson's dealings with his "master," Captain Lilburne; no doubt the Thomas Lilburne who was one of the purchasers of the manor in June 1651 at "22 years purchase on the present value." He continued in possession of the Stewardship of the Manor until his death in 1664.]

Money disbursed upon those Acounts as followeth, 1652:

Imps. Paid to yor selfe and Capt. Collinson as appeareth by yor acquit' the 26th Octobr. ..	£168.	0.	0
pd for expensis for yor selves at Robt Chamb^rs when the Rents was recd. the 29th of Sept. and the 30th, 1652	000.	14.	0
pd Edwd: Brisco wife for yor diet and in drinke att yor goeing from Holme Cult'.	000.	10.	0
pd for oates for yor horses	000.	10.	0
pd to Mr. Wittie [schoolmaster] for writting ..	000.	5.	0
pd and giuen to the Bayliffe for his paines ..	000.	10.	0
pd to Will: Brisco esqre Steward of the Libertie of Holme Cultram his fee for one yeare due the 2nd of ffebruary, 1652	018.	0.	0
pd Moungo Dalton gent. Clarke of the Libertie of Holme Cult' his fee for one yeare	002.	11.	0

* The destruction of Wolsty Castle, no doubt by orders of the government, was unpopular. The Chambers family had lived there and Mary Chambers was expressing public as well as personal opinion. No doubt this is the "ruination" described in the Survey of 1666:—"Thomas ffitch, late p'tended Gouvernor of Carlisle, caused the castle of Wolstie to be ruinated and the material thereof he caused to be carried to the citie of Carlile." John Jackson afterwards came into disfavour, for in a list of "ffriends invited to Tho Parkins att Abbey, Dec. xjth, 1669," by James Jackson, occurs "John Jackson came not biden."

pd and spent when the rents was recd. att Twelftide	000.	5.	0
pd for 2 baggs for yor money att Twelftide ..	000.	1.	0
Disbursed	191.	6.	0
This account made at Ufferton,* January 24th, 1652. pd in there to Capt. Lilburne as appeareth by his acquitt' wch sume compleats the sum recd	118.	4.	9
Disbur' in toto : ..	309.	10.	9
Money recd from Sept. 29th, 1652 till Janu : 24th, 1652 for Rents, for fiue streets [i.e. estreats] and two streets and for am^rcimts	£334.	19.	8
Paid and discharged as appeareth by accounts and acquittances Oct. 2th, 1652	£334.	19.	8

Recd the day and yeare abouesaid att and from the handes of Jam: Jackson the sum̄e of one Hundred sixtie and eight pounds vizt. one Hundred and twentie pounds to Capt. Tho: Lilburne esqre, and fforty eight pounds to Capt. Will: Collinson esqre, upon accounts for Rents due in Holme Cultr' for the use of the Lords of the said Manor by their appointmt. We say Recd the sum̄e of £168. 0. 0

vera copia Tho: Lilburne Wm: Collinson

Ufferton Janu'. 16th, 1653.

Recd the day and yeare abouesaid att and from ye hand of James Jackson Bayliffe of Holme Cult'. these seu'all sum̄es following, vizt. for the Coppihold Rent £115. 0. 7, for the Cottage Rent £2. 3. 2, for Hodgson lease £3. 4. 1½, for Wolstie lease 15s. for gards lease 10s. 9d., for St. Tho: Chapell iijs. for Incroacht Rent † ixs. vjd. for Sheepe gates vs. vjd. for Cowp pounds iijs. iiijd. for grass in the groune [Grune ?] is. for the tole of three faires vjs. for ffines since Jan. 24th, 1652 till this day viijl. vjs. ijd. ob. and for one Estreat of Amercimts due Mar'. 25th, 1653 iiijl.

* Mr. Robert Blair, F.S.A., kindly says that Ufferton must be Offerton, four miles west of Sunderland. The *o* of Offerton was no doubt pronounced as the *o* in constable and other words. It is so spelt in a deed mentioned in *Arch. Ael.* 2 ser. xv., 191. In 1636 Tobye Bowes was of Offerton (*ibid.*, 132). In *ibid.*, 1st series, pp. 273-286, fifteen ancient deeds relating to the manor of 'Ufferton' are given. There is an interesting old house, doubtless the seat of the dominant family, now used as a farmhouse. The Lilburnes were a wellknown Sunderland family in Civil Wars times, the best known being Col. John Lilburne.

† Incroachments were portions of land enclosed from the stinted pasture. At each change of Lord, demands were made for rent payable for these pieces of ground, and the demands were always resisted by the tenants.

in all 136l. pd. out formerly. Recd as appeareth by accounts and for charges 72l. 4s. 2d. So remaines £63 15. 10 wch I have Recd. the day and yeare abouesaid. In all amounting to the sum̄e of £136. 0. 0

By me Tho: Lilburne

[Subsequent receipts for money paid by Jackson to Lilburne.]

Ufferton Jan 12th 1654—£280. 15. 8½

Carlisle Aug. 27th 1656—£504. 6. 7½

Holme Cultram Aug. 18th, 1657—£264. 18. 10½

Ufferton Jan 12th, 1657—£221. 4. 1½

Holme Cultram, Aug. 14th 1658—£142. 18. 3½

Memord. that about the 27th of Sept. 1652 Capt. Lilburne and Capt'. Wm. Collinson did ride ov^r some pt of Acredale and Colt pke wth their men and none opposed them,* witnes Jo: Twentiman.

Memorand'. that upon the 10 day of July 1653 or thereabouts publique notice was giuen, for the paymt of their Incroacht. Rents wth their Copihold rent the 25th of this Instant following no paymt but according to the Rentall. Againe on the second of Octobr., 1653 publique notice was giuen for the paymt of their Incroacht. rent the 8 day of Octobr. All denied those excepted menconed in a Rentall.

[Specimen details of his accounts as bailiff.]

Janu'. 27th 1653. Paid in Charges att the side Court then	0.	2.	6
ffebr'. 17th. pd in Cou^rt Charges att the side Cou^rt then	0.	2.	6
March 10th pd for a Cou^rt diner and expensis then	1.	0.	0
Aprill 28th pd in Court Charges att the side Court	0.	3.	0
May 19th : 1654 pd in Cou^rt charges then	0.	2.	6
June 23, 1654 pd in Cou^rt Charges then	0.	3.	0
pd to Capt. Lilburne att Carlile	15.	0.	0
Spent then	0.	1.	0
July 21th 1654 att the side Cou^rt then	0.	3.	0
pd to Peter Norman att his house in Carlile for the use of Capt. Lilburne, July 27th	100.	0.	0
pd in expensis that day att Carlile	0.	1.	0
pd in Charges when the Rents was Recd.	0.	5.	0
August 18th, 1654 pd in Cou^rt charges for that day	0.	3.	4
pd Mr. Robert Borranskell for 3 writts	0.	15.	0
pd to the Shiriffe for breaking up the writts ..	0.	3.	8

* That is to say, the copyholders did not resist his action as a trespass.

pd and giuen Mr. Brisco man for ye warrant ..	0.	1.	0
pd to my m^{r} August 23th	10.	0.	0
pd for yor quart^{rs} to ffra' Threlkeld	1.	16.	0
giuen in the house	0.	2.	0
pd to Robt. Chamb^{rs} for the quarterage of .4. souldiers one night	0.	4.	1
Spent att Carlile	0.	1.	6
pd to Mr. Wittie for a book for drift	0.	2.	6
pd for a Compulsary for the Sheriffe	0.	2.	0
to Robt. Stamp from New Castle to Ufferton ..	0.	1.	6

[Memoranda of leases to Salters.]

Janu'. 30th, 1654. The day abouesaid did Arthur Watman of Newton Arlosh farme from me one Salt Coat for the use of my mast^{r} Tho: Lilburne esqre. for seaven yeares entreing Janu. 2th 1654 and to end Janu. 2th 1661, to pay for the same the 2 first yeares att or before the 29th of Sept'. the sum̄e of vjs. viijd. and for the fiue last yeares jl. eu'ye year att the 29th of Sept. as the same shall fall due. Recd for (56) 6s. 8d. Witnes hereof Mr. Jo: Chamb of Raby Coatt, James Jackson.

ffeb. 8th, 1654. Memor'. did this day Robt. Langcake and Geo: Langcake take one Salt Coat for the terme of seaven yeares beginning the day abouesaid and ending (61) ffeb: 2th and to pay yearely and eu'ye yeare the sum̄e of jl.

[The Landlord's interference with tenants' rights on the Hards, open field land of the Upper Holme.]

Memord'. Augt. 14th, 1655, did Tho: Lilburne esqr. hunt in ye hards wth a firrett and netts att Rabbetts and killed att Readskarth-browe 5 Rabbetts and in Stonie Law one Rabb^{tt} and soe went to Rabby Coat all night, and next day to Carlile to Assizes. Witnes and wth him Mr. Charles Chamb^{r} Mr. Tho: Atkinson, Richd. Shipheard, James Jackson.

[Infringements of the Landlord's rights.]

Memorand'. March 4th, 1655. Did Ch: Winder sow Oates in the little garth on the backe side upon Capt. Lilburnes land. Stopt by Edwd. Briscoe and James Jackson the same day.

Memor'. The xth of March did I stopp Tho: Parkin being plowing in Dands little closse att Abbey for my Mr Capt. Tho: Lilburne esqre. he willingly did dep^{t} and left plowing and ingaged himselfe to agree with my m^{r} att his comeing ou^{r}.

[Lilburne's grant from Charles II., early in 1665.]

Memor. Capt. Lilburne's graunt from the King to him concerning Holme, beareing the Eight day of March in the sixteenth

of his Ma'ties no^w Raigne but takeing place and beginning Lady day in the ffifteeneth year of his Ma'ties no^w Raigne ou^r England, before [i.e. the previous March 25, 1664].

[Lilburne's death.]

March 24th, 1664 [old style] Major Tho: Lilburne died at Ufferton and was buried Mar. 25th, 65 [i.e. the next day] att Haughton Church [Houghton-le-Spring].

[Waifs and strays.]

Aprill 22th, 1653. One wease meare [roan ? mare] deliuered to Tho: Wharton of Graystocke pd for the use of the Lords of this manner 7s. 6d. upon his owne word, and for keeping.

One gray meare deliue^rd to Jo: Key and Jo: Whit being the pr[o]p[e]r goods of Tho: Relfe Recd. for the same, to the use of the Lords of this Mannor 3s. 4d.

One little blacke meare brought Inne by Jo: Hudderth May 21th (56) and deliu^red to Hen: Peat of Hayrige the same day. pd for the same to the taker up js., to me another, all ijs.

Nags impounded on Hiemoore June 3th, 1656. Pindleasses [releases from pinfold ?] pd. by Mrs. Dorithy Salkeld 4d. for 4. Tho: Barne, 3d. for 3. Jo: Laithes 2d. for 2.

[Jackson farms the demesne at the Abbey.]

Memorand: it is agreed betweene Edmd. Winstanley esqre and Ja: Jackson that the said Ja: is to have all the Demesne Lands att Abbay Holme for the yeare 1654 and to pay for the same (if the said Jam: injoy them quietly and peacably du[r]eing the said times) the sum̃e of 65l.

[Death of John Chamber of Raby Cote.]

ffebr. 5th, 1655. Did John Chamb^r gent. of Rayby Coat decease: buried ye 7th of ffebr. His goods valewed and prised the 13th by John Peathouse, Hen: Skelton, Tho: Dand and George Langcake To Three hundreth and Ten Pounds, nineteene shilling and eight pence.

[Tanning.]

My old Meare skine put to Taning to Richd Gregge ffebr: 26th, 1655. Younge Meare skine put to Taning to Jo: Carmalt.

[Wedholme Wood, manorial pasture. Jackson's own debts set off against his landlord's.]

Agreed with ffra: Threlkeld for my 2 Colts put into Wedholme by weeke. put in May 17th being Saturday before Whitsontide. to pay for the same 7d. p. weeke: if they goe out 4s. 6d. eith^r other two younge Colts ixs. My two fooles for the takeing up of two of his last yeare. soe nothing.

[Fisheries. The Prize fish, mentioned by the Commonwealth Commissioners, 1649, "All that Jacke called the Prize fish . . . out of every Boate the best fish, worth pr. ann. iijs. iiijd."]

August 8th, 1656. The day abouesaid did I goe to Skinburnees to the Salmon fisheing and there tooke of eith boat one fish as a Prise fish due to the Lord of this Manor, but both taken from me againe by Jo: Waite of Lees the other by Willm Messing^r of Skinburnees. Wit. hereof Ja: Jackson Richd Shipheard Jo: Hurd of Allanby. it was the first day of Wm. Messing^r fishing. The names of the fishers at Skinburnees Aug. 8th, 1656. Old Boating—Jo: Waite of Lees. ar[?] Richd. Barne Jo: Atkinson of Silleth Wm. Glaist^rs. ar. Robt. Glaist^rs Tho: Milner, ar. Robt: Taylor Jo: Huett Math: Litt Robt. Hudderth. New Boating—Wm: Messing^r ar. Wm: Taylor Jo: Waite Wath. Richd Dreape Robt. Litt Jo: Taylor Skinburnees Wm: Halliday [*blank*] Kimbley Geo Ritson.

[Sandenhouse and Mealrigg.]

Memord'. My Sandenhouse acre letto Tho: Kendall in Janu, 1656 for 7. yeares and two day worke of Moss in the westmost sowe [i.e. channel], one day worke next Mealerigge * the other next the gills, and to pay for the same ijl. xs. att or before the 25th of March ev^rye yeare dureing the said terme, after the date hereof.

[Riding the boundaries.]

May 28th, 1657: the bound^r Riden the day abouesaid, began and [on] Mealrigg doones [i.e. watercourses] and went south west along the sike on the sun side of the Gills wch the rod way goes thorough and soe along to Munkinge dike within wch compasse Mealrigg ten'ts haue diged up peats. Riden by Wm. Brisco Deput Steward Charles Chamb^r, Ja: Jackson Bayliffe Jo: Jackson ye foreman of the head Jury and his fellowes.

[A pedlar's pack.]

Sept. 14th, 1657. Goods Arreasted of Jo: Wilsons pedler for Leo: Scot of Cockermouth. Impr. 3. hankes and 4. cutts.† iijl. of Tobbacco, a Candlesticke, a little measure for drinking hot waters in, an old pistell, prised by Geo: Milner, Edwd. Brisco and Par[cival] Johnson all vjs. turned ou^r with the full consent of Jo: Wilson pedler.

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* This still belongs to Jackson's farm.

† A "cut" of yarn was properly 91 inches. The "measure for hot waters," a quaigh for whisky. John Wilson was perhaps a Scotch pedlar.

[Farming implements.]

Distr[d] on Robt Chamb iron Harrow for 3s. 4d., prised to 2s. by Jo: Robinson and Jo: Tramell Sept. 14th, 1657.

Areasted of the Goods of Jo: Paipe for Willim: Langcake Octo. 20th (57). Rye in a Stacke, and two iron Harrows valewed and prised by ffra: Pattinson and Jo: Wilson to jl. viijs.

[Jackson lets his share of the Common field.]

T[w]o Rigs in Wheat Close letto ffra: Langcake payable Sept. 29th, 1658	0.	6.	0
To ffra: Langcake more, other two Rigs payable then	0.	6.	0
To long Hodgson 4. rigs of Wheate stuble	0.	6.	0
To Wm: Chamlr of Knowhill, t[w]o Riggs payable then	0.	6.	0
To Geo. Milner. two Rigs payable then	0.	6.	0
To Wm. Wilson. 4. Rigs payable then	0.	12.	0
To younge Tho: Parkin. 3. Rigs pay: then ..	0.	9.	0
To Petr Bell and Stamp. 2. Rigs payable then ..	0.	6.	0

My part of the Wheat Close lett as abouesaid comes to in the whole £2. 17. 0 to be paid Sept. 29th, 1658.

[Journey to London.]

Charges concerning my going to London Sept. jt., 1662.

My horse bought on ffra: Threlkeld	3.	13.	4
a paire of new boots	0.	14.	6
a paire of boothose topps* and a sett of points ..	0.	3.	6
Spent in my jorney	0.	3.	6
pd. Edward Brisco for Oats 3 Pecks	0.	3.	0
pd. for goeing to Robt Huggon	0.	2.	0

[Building a barn by boon-work.]

Memor.' Octo: 14th 1662, did Jo: Peat and [I with?] T. J.: elder, E. J. iu[nio]r, Jos: Brisco of Abbey, Jo:Steell and J: Osemoth[erly] iur. bring a great sile from Souterfield. The names of those that made my new barne walls, 1662: Geo: Miller Tho: Huddert Wm: Huddert Cuth: Waite Jo:ffarish Jo: Cogton ffra: Langcake Tho: Langcake Robt: Wilson Paull Bell p[ro] ff. T[hrelkeld] Richd Stag p[ro] E. B[risco] Peter Bell Jo: Pattinson Tho: Brigg pd ijd Geo: Wilson ffra: Barwis Jo: Stogdell Jo: Kirkhaugh Robt Kirkhaugh Robt Hodgson Jos Stamp p[ro] A.H. Jo: Parkin Tho: Jefferson iur John Ritson iur Jo: Wilson Wm: Allison p[ro] M.D. [? Mungo Dalton] Tho: Jefferson lad Jo: Stamp my man

* Over-stockings to cover the leg like jackboots.

[A bargain].

Memorandū. July 4th, 1664. An agreem^t^ betwixt John Kendall and me (to witt) the said Jo: Kendall doth sett ouer to me all the Corne growing on my Sandenhouse acre, all the Corne growing on anoth^r^ Acre called his wifes acre, for and in consideracon of iiijl. and the sd Jo: Kendall is to in it into the Barne and sett it by it selfe, and he is to pay or oth^r^wise satisfie the said James before he medle with it and in case he doe not, then the sd p'ties is to putte eith^r^ a Thresher till soe much corne be Threshed as will satisfie the sd James as the markett rules, or att the discretion of Antho: Dreape and Hugh Stamp. Witnes hereof the day and yeare abouesaid Antho: Dreape Hugh Stamp.

[Stealing wood from a bridge under repair.]

Memorandū. July 27th, 1664. Comeing by New bridge there was Abraham Chamb^r^ carriing away the wood that was left from mending the bridge and with him t[w]o boyes.

[Assizes; Jackson acts as butler.]

The Assizes held att Carlile Augt. 17th, 1664, John Lamplugh * of Lamplugh esqre then Sheriffe for the Countie. P[ro]vision in the Seller p[ro] sizes weeke Ten Hodgheads of beare, to witt, two of the best, foure Seconds and foure thirds: two Runnetts [i.e. runlets, small casks] of Sacke, three dozen of London bottells of Sacke, one butt of whit wine, one Runnett of Claritt wine, two firkins of Ale: left unspent three hogesheads of beare, both whit wine and Claritt, all wch was Comitted to my charge. giuen in the Seller, Mr. Sheriffe jl. Mr. Kirby ijs. Mr. ffleming ijs. Doctor of Graystocke ijs. vjd. Mr. Jos: Port^r^ vjd. Peter Allason vjd, anoth^r^ young gent. ixd. Mr. Lowther de Cocker[mouth] vjd. in all £i. viijs. ixd.

[A Merrynight.]

Neighbours invited to a drinking att Mungo Daltons: Sept. 16th, 1664: and what ev^r^ye man spent: Mr. Will: Chamb 1s. 6d. Jo: Chamb^r^ Black[dike] 1s. 6d. Mr. Wittie 1s. 6d. Edwd. Brisco 6d. ffra: Threlkeld 1s. 6d. Geo: Miller 1s. Tho: Parkin 1s. Tho: Dand 1s. 6d. Hen: Skelton 1s. 6d. Richd: ffisher 1s. 6d. Geo: Langc[ake] 1s. 6d.† Jo: Smith 1s. 6d. Robt. Smith 1s. Hugh Askew 1s. 6d. Richd Wind^r^ 1s. Jo: Jac[kson] 1s. 6d. Will: Barwis 1s. Tho: Barne 1s. 6d. Robt Waite 1s. Richd Barne 1s. Hen: Currey 1s. 6d. Robt Bebie 1s. 6d. Richd Lightfoote 1s. 6d.

* John Lamplugh, born 1619, fought under Prince Rupert and was wounded and taken prisoner at Marston Moor.

† G. Langcake is marked "pd." None of the others are so distinguished.

Jo: Taylor, Silleth 1s. 6d. Will: Chamb^{r}, Abbey 1s 6d Jo: Sealby 1s. Jo: Barwis, Tarnes 1s. Ja: Jackson 1s. 6d. sum pd. £1. 16. 6.

[A new lessor of the Demesnes.]

Memor' Sept. 19th, 1665, did Mr. Richd. Lamplugh come to Abbey-Holme and had possession given to the demesne by ffra: Threlkeld and James Jackson by vertue of a lett^{r} of Atturney from mr. James Winstanley authorising the fore sd. ffra: and James upon the purchase of the said Mr. Richd Lamplugh in the presence of Richd. Dickenson Richd Bowes and Peter Bell.

The same day the ten'ts of Raby did turne ten'ts to Mr. Lamplugh by the exchange of each of ye^{m} vjd. Witnes hereof Richd. Dickinson Richd Bowes ffra: Threlkeld James Jackson Peter Bell.

The xxth of Sept: 1665 did the said Mr. Lamplugh goe to Caluo and asked the ten'ts of Caluo if they would turne ten'ts to him, wch answered the[y] would not at p'sent but made their deniall. Witnes herof Richd Dickenson Richd Bowes ffra: Threlkeld James Jackson.

[The Vicar's dog and others.]

Memorandū: Octob^{r} 5th, 1665, did Mr. Head * giue my sonne Dick a Mastife-whelpe, then a Monnth old.

Memor'. Mr. Head mastife bitch and Robt Wittie dog did worry me a Tupp in Stenkas-gards, No: xjth, 1665. Witnes Jo: Stamp toke Gods [oth?]

[Snowstorm in Spring.]

A great snow fell Apr. 9th 1666 being Munday before Easter.

[Stones taken from the monastic buildings: stones being scarce in the Holme.]

Memor'. Stones led out of old walles March 8th, 1665 by ffrancis Threlkeld.

Mem. Mar. 15th 65, did I see Tho: Parkin and Nicho: Ismay diging up stones in his garden and Mathew Crosby diging for Rob: ffarish on his side.

Memor. Aprill 16th, 1666: did Mr. Lamplugh and francis Threlkeld discharge Robt ffearish from diging stones in the house steads, his answer was he would take no stop at anie man, witnes Edward Brisco and my selfe, but he would go on with his intended resolution.

[Fowls.]

Aug. 8, 1666. My two young Turkeys lost Augt 9th 66, witnes Ja: Bensō.

Memord'. woried by Wm: Carmalt Aug 12th 66: 3 hens and

* William Head, M.A., vicar of Holme Cultram from 1638.

one of Dorithy Musgraves, witness Jo: Ritson in his ffath^{rs} garth att Swinstie.

[Making a gate.]

Pd to Jo: Browne for a tree to make a yeat on ..	0.	5.	0
pd for more wood and for makeing	0.	5.	0
pd to Smith for iron worke for hinging yeat ..	0.	2.	0

[Lent on a pledge.]

Memor. Apr. 15th, 1667 did Jo: Skelton desire me to take to pledge one brasse pott of Tho: Jeffersons eld^{r} for vs. if not redeemed at Whitsontide or within a fortnight to be forfeited for the sd 5s. and nothinge to pay out.

[Boons given in lieu of labour at James Jackson's house-building.]

Memor. My new house begun wth to build Apr. 15th, 1667 by Edwd Ben and his men. Brought me at my New house building May 67. ffra: Threlkeld, 3. q^{tr} veale, one Salmond, a cup butt^{r} and milk sev^{r}all times. Pet^{r} Bell, 2 q^{rs} veale. Edw. Brisco, i q^{r} veale, one cup butt^{r}, 20 egs, pot ale. Robt ffarish, i q^{r} veale, 20 egs, a cup butt^{r}. Jo: Carmalt, i q^{r} veale. Jo: Pattinson, j cup butt^{r}, 20 egs. Robt Huggen, j cup butt^{r}, 20 egs. Tho: Parkin eld^{r}, j q^{r} veale, j cup butt^{r}, 20 egs. Tho: Jefferey, j q^{r} veale. Anne Stamp, j cupp butt^{r}. Geo: Miller, j q^{r} veale, 24 egs. Mary Dalton, j q^{r} veale, j cupp butt^{r}, 4 penie egs worth, 2 Potts of ale. ffra: Pattinson, i cup butt^{r}, 20 egs, a can full milke. Robt Harrison, j cup butt^{r} and 40 egs. Jo: Barwis, j cup butt^{r}. ffra: Graing^{r}, j q^{r} veale, j cup butt^{r}, j q^{r} tobbac', a handle [i.e. bowl with handle] full milke and a handle full of ewe milke.* Wm. Smith a cup butt^{r}, 20 egs, a Canfull of milke. Robt Wilson, a cup butt^{r}, 40 egs. Tho: Barme, j cup butt^{r}, 24 egs, a can full of milke. Mr. Chamb^{r} Raby Coat, j great cheese, a cup butt^{r}, 6 pigeons, a great handle full milk. Tho: Jefferson iu[nio]r, j q^{r} veale, j q^{r} tobac', j cup butt^{r}, 20 egs: Wm. ffear[on], one q^{r} veale, j pot ale, 20 egs. Jo: Chamb^{r}. j cup butt. 20 egs, a great Salmon. Cuth: Paipe, one great Cheese. My Uncle Bebie, 1 q^{r} veale, j cup butt^{r}, 1 hen. Richd Dickenson, 2 q^{rs} veale, j cup butt^{r}, a great cheese and [*blank*] Potts ale. Hen: Skelton, 2 Salmons, j cup butt^{r}. Tho: Parkin iu^{r}, one Salmon, j cup butt , 20 egs. Pati: Barton, j cup butt^{r}, a q^{r} veale. Jo: Jac[kson], 6 pound of salt butt^{r} and white and 80 egs. Antho: Dreape, j cup butt^{r}, 30 egs and milke. ffra:

* The survival of the use of ewe milk is worth noting. There is a carved stone in the farm buildings on this tenement once occupied by J. Jackson; it is marked J 1667. J

Benson, j cup butt^{r} and milke. Jane Langc[ake], i pott of Ale. Nich: Bebie, 2 potts ale. Gawin Chamb^{r}, 2 potts ale. Tho: Benson, j cup butt^{r}, 12 egs. Jo: Peat Souterfield, j cup butt^{r} 20 egs. Geo: Langc[ake], q^{r} veale. Ellas Peathouse, a q^{r} veale. Wm. Lothwaite a q^{r} veale, a Cheese. Cuth: Waite, j cupp butt^{r}, 30 egs. Mr. Wittie, a pound tobaco. Isabell Voake, j cup butt^{r}, 20 egs. Nellie Parkin, j cup butt^{r}, 4 penieworth bread, 30 egs. Mr. Head, 1 q^{r} veale.

[A trial at assizes.]

Augt. 21th, 1667: Memor': The Assizes for our Sov^{r}igne Lord the King keept att the Cittie of Carlile the day and yeare aboues^{d} where a tryall betwixt Richd. Nicholson plt. Anne Brisco deft. upon an [action] of trespasse and eiect^{mt} for par'. of land lieing in Kitching Crooke, keept by the sd Brisco from Richd Lamplugh esq^{r} as p't and p'cell of Raby Grainge, tryed before the Judges Thursday Augt. 22th, 1667: verditt for the p^{e}lt. Councell for plt was Mr. Turner and Mr. Linley. Councell for Brisco was Sir Wm. Scrogs * and Mr. Weston.

[Mungo Dalton's death. He was schoolmaster.]

Mung Dalton died April 7th, 68: and buried Apr. 8th, 1668.

[Grocers' goods.]

From Wm. Lancaster bought att Coc[kermouth]—first Hearing [herring], o. 10. o; Cheeses, o. 8. o; biskett, o. 2. 8.

from Jos Brisco shop—three pd Sug^{r}, o. 3. 6; a q^{r} mace, o. 2. o; a q^{r} cloves, o. 1. 6.

From Will. ffearish shop, a pd. Currans, o. o. 8; a pd of Raisins, o. o. 6.

From Will Bouch for Clarrett wine, o. x. o.

Money giuen to poore people, 2. 10. o.

[Disaster by lightning.]

Memor'. July 7th, 1668, being Tuesday the Lord was pleased by thunder and ffire from heaven did kill two Children of Arthur Parratt and hurt anoth^{r} and did beat downe a quart^{r} of the Chimney. Buried att Abbey church, July 8th (68).

[Will Jackson apprenticed.]

Memor. my Sonne Will Enrolled att Carlile Sept. 25th 1668 Apprentice to Mr. Richd Monnk^{s}. His time to end 1675.

[Cockfighting.]

Memor'. ffeb. 17th 68. Cocke fight at Hielawes Richd Dalton and Robt Brewhouse Sonnes. Capt. Richd Dalton wone the day. Geo: Messing^{r} wone Capt. battell. Richd Lawrence upt

* Was he afterwards the notorious Lord Chief Justice, who preceded Jeffreys?

the game. Robt Wise a good cocke. Wm. Hayton a good cocke.

[A marriage-settlement.]

Memor. June 21th 69: an agrem^{t} made betwene Antho: Dickinson and Geo: Willes and his moth^{r} upo' a contract wth Mary Dickinson: first, old wife is to give unto hir sonne .2. pts of all her geare that she is now possest of and to live with them so long as they can agree. Otherwise to have to hir selfe one Chamb^{r} and her third part of geare sett out. hir sonne is to pay to hir for all the Sheepe x*l.* and Antho: Dickinson is to giue wth his daught^{r} 26lb. 13s. 4d. (vizt.) x*l.* at first St. James Day and x*l.* that day twelve month (that is) 69: and 70: and vjl. xiijs. iiijd. St. James Day 1671: a little arke and what more as he was pleased and no more p'missed. And the sd. Geo: is to feeft Mary his supposed wife in one halfe of the estate he hath.

[Dick's wedding.]

March 20th, 1670: Memor'. The day & yeare abouesd. an agremt made betwixt my Sonne Richd and ffrances chamb^{r} and thereupon Contracted in the p[re]sence of John Chamb^{r} of Blackdike, Geo: Ostell and Thomas his sonne, Henry Currey and Ja: Jackson and Ellas Chamb^{r} hir mother.

May 30th, 1671. Dick's cloake 8 yeards and a halfe att ijs. ijd. p. yearde, 18s. 8d. 6 yeards of base [i.e. baize] for lineing att js. iiijd. p. yearde, 8s. one sette of Mowheire [i.e. mohair] buttons, 2s. 2d. halfe an ounce of Silke, 1s. neck button. 6d. black threed, 2d.—p. cloake £1. 10. 3.

More for his sute. 2 yeards and a quart^{r} att 6s. 8d. p. yeard. 15s. Buttons to his dublett, 8d. Silke vjd. gallow' [i.e. galloon] vjd. collo^{r} iijd.—His Suite 16s. 11d.

Two hatts. A dinn castor [i.e. grey beaver] for ffrances ixs. vjd. in all 13s.

ffor ffrances gowne. x yeards of Rosetta [i.e. russet] att ijs. iijd. a yearde, comes to £1. 2. 6. Halfe a pound of whaile-bone, 1s. ½ an ele of buccaram, 8d. 3 yeards of gallowne, 9d. Silke ½ an ounce, 1s. ffirrittin [i.e. of ferret or coarse silk] Ribbin 1s. 8d.—Sum̃e toto: £1. 7. 7.

Memor'. July iiijth, 1671: was my sonne Richard and ffrances Chamb^{r} married att Abbey Church and Mr. Bolton preacht twice next Lords day following.

[James Jackson's family.*]

* His wife was Jane, sister of the Henry Currey who died 1683 at Canonby. His daughter Isabel married John Simson. Note the intervals between birth and baptism.

ffebr. 19th, 1648. This day was Richd borne and baptized the sixt of March 1648 att Cannonby Church.

Octob'. 29th, 1651. This day was Willi'm borne and baptized the 25th of Novemb^{r} 1651 att Abbey-Holme.

Oct. 18th, 1653. This day was Isabell borne and baptized the 15th of Novemb^{r} 1653 att Abbey Holme.

Sept. 25th, 1655. John the cld^{r} borne this day and baptized the 23th of Octob^{r} 1655 att Abbey-Holme and buried June 28th 1656 att Abbey-Holme.

Octob. 30th 1657. Joseph borne this day and baptized the 24th of Novemb^{r} 1657 Att Abbey-Holme.

Novemb^{r} 3th 1659. John the young^{r} No: 3th 1659 and baptized the 29th of Novemb^{r} 1659 att Abbey-Holme.

ffeb. 6th 1661. Daniell borne this day and baptized the 26th of ffebr. 1661 : att Abbey Holme.

March 23th 1655. ffrances the daughter of John Chamb^{r} younger of Blackdike and now the wife of Richd Jackson baptized March 23th 1655 att Abbey Holme.

May 22th 1651. Memorandū we removed from Cannonby to Swinsty in Holme Cultram this day.

Memorandū. The xviijth day of ffebruary the Dove brought the Olive branch unto Noahs Arke 3944 years since.

[A stray mare.]

One little gray meare brought in by Mr. Osmotherley Apr. 14th, 72, pd to him 1s. Challenged by John Lund of Embleton Apl. 17th 1672, deliu^{r}ed the same to the foresd John Lund, witnes Jo: Stamp Paull Bell. Recd for the same iijs.

[The mill.]

May viijth 1672. Memor: the day abouesd. an Agremt I made with Robt ffarish in his owne house,* for my m^{r} (to witt) he is to keepe the Mills from Whitsontide, 1672, till Whitsontide 1673. for eu^{r}ye xiijth pecke and to have one half of his clofft [i.e. allowance for waste in the process of milling] rent abaited in att it and he is to worke all the wood worke that belongs to Mills that can be done by one man.

[Barley fields. The crops would cover about 15 acres.]

Big stoukes p. yeare 1672. Memor. In Gards, att Dovecoat, 96: Kilnebutts, 123; in West field besides 8 rigs of pease and benes: 312. sto[oks]. in all (521) stouks.

* Robert Farish's initials and that of his wife are on a carved stone above the door of the Millhouse (see these *Trans.*, N.S. xiii, 246). It afterwards became the vicar's residence. It is described as Gawen Borrodaile's residence in 1538.

[Shooting pigeons in the ruins of the church.]

Aug. 14th 1672. Memor. I se Robt Kirkaugh shoott pidgions att Church end * and Mr. ffrancis helpt him to gather up that he killd.

[The smith's bill for horses and oxen shod.]

Robt Porteous p. worke att his Smiddy. first is. iijd. ob. bay nagge p. Thom: shod iiijd. ob. all soe farre. blacke nage three remoues and a new shoe made, 4½d. Younge nagge att his taking in, 6d. blacke nagge Oct. 30th, 72. 4. remoues, 4d. One shoe made to bay nage and t[w]o for younge nag. No: 23th 72, 4½d. nags frosted p. Stamp, 4½d. black nag, two new showes and t[w]o remoues, Ja. xth, 72, 5d. Meares showeing p. Jo: Stamp, 1s. 1d. Younge nag 4. remoues, black nag and bay nagge, ffeb. 6th 72, 1s. 0½d. Youn[g]e nagge 2. new shoes, iijd. Grey meare j remoue, jd. Oxon showeing, 6d. two plow bands makeing, 3d.

[Jackson's new stable.]

June xth, 73. Memorand. Workemen begun wth my New stable the day abouesaid. Gawin Gibson and his sonnes ended stone worke June 14th, 73. paid each of them (to witt) Gawen: Andrew : and John Gibsons iijs. to Jo: Clarke p. serueing js. vjd. in drinke js. tobbaco iijd. in all to them xjs. ixd.

[Poaching.]

Decemb^r 5th 1673. Memor. The day and yeare abouesd was Wm. Osmotherley eld^r and Wm. his Sonne getting rabbetts wth netts and a ffirritt in banks at Dubmill. † Witnes Ja: Jackson.

Feb. xviijth 73. Memor. The sd Wm. eld^r and Wm. his Sonne and John Ritson was getting rabbetts att Acredale wth nets and a firitt. Witnes George Barne and James Jackson.

[Boys at Bromfield grammar-school.]

April xvth 74. Paid for Jos: and Johns table [i.e. board] for a xj weekes and three days jl. viijs. vjd. and given little Jane vjd. p. John. Both came home the abouesaid day : fetcht home p. selfe. Pd to Mr Bolton quart^r wages p. both ended the same day they came home vs. att Cannonby beckfoot. Witnes Mr. Lamplugh.

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* See also p. 119, Sept. 1675. At that time the chancel and probably the east transept were standing, as well as the clerestory above the nave, in which service was held. Pigeon shooting on Sundays, in the ruins, is heard of earlier in the 17th century.

† Osmotherley was miller at Dubmill, but perhaps had no right to the rabbits on the bank. The lord, I think, claimed the game on the Acredale.

Jo: and Daniell went to Brumfield schooll May 4th 1674 for Mr. Jonathan Bankes.

Paid Jo: Ritson of Brumfield for Sam: Munke Jo: and Daniels table Dec. 6th 1674 six weekes time: ffirst weeke 2 boyes att 1d. ob. a Meale 5 dayes, 3s. 9d. 2: weeke, 3 boys, 5. days 5s. 7½d. 3: weeke, 3. boys, 4 days comes to 4s. 6d. 4: weeke, 3 boys, 4 days, 4s. 6d. 5: weeke, 3 boys, 5 days, comes to 5s. 7½d. 6: weeke, 3 boyes, 5 days, comes to 5s. 7½d. meals in that time 237: £1. 9s. 7½d., but pd £1. 10. 0. Ending Dec. 12th 1674 att breaking up p. Christenmas.

[Price of a cow.]

Augt. xjth 1674. ffine Beefe Cow bought of Willim Tindall of Souterfield same day and pd him for hir ijl. iiijs. Giuen me backe jd.

[Stone and coal.]

Sept. 23th, 74. Memord'. Agreed with Robt Glasters and Jo: Waite to pay for ev^r^ye Mill stone laid on Mill Hill att Abbey from Cowende xvijs. a peece, and their boat to be loaden of Coales free the first time. And we to cleare all mann^r^ of Charges at quarie and what in drinke we please, att their comeing home (p. the stones). Witnes John Glaisters and Ja: Jackson.

The same day I see Jo: Paipes men cutting Stenke Meado^s^.

Sept. 29th, 1674. Tho: Bell led Stones from Tho: Head p. Jo: Paipe Miller bought on him, of his cottage.

[Shoemaker's bill.]

ffeb. xixth. My boots new Legd p. Tho: Wilkinson p. vjs. vjd. a paire of new shoes to Isabell ijs. vjd. a paire made for my selfe out of boot Legs ijs. and mending a paire p. John vjd. in all pd him the day abovesd xjs. vjd.

[Corn.]

Moulter Corne sent home since 1669 til March xth, 1674:

Mash:*	192 bz.	2 ps.	—comes to in Money ..	62 : 02 : 00
Skilling:	078	3	—comes to in Money ..	40 : 10 : 00
Malt:	228	3	—comes to in Money ..	59 : 14 : 06
			sum̄a: ..	£162 : 6 : 06

[Dealing in horses and cattle: Rosley fair.]

Whitson Munday, 1675: went Mr Antho: Senhouse from Holme and took along with him my younge gray Nagge and is to Allow in the next account viijl. Witnes Jo: Brickwood his Man.

* *Mash* and *skilling*, "mixed" and "separated": perhaps whole meal and bolted flour.

Memor'. The same day my sonne Richd sold att Rosley t[w]o great oxon (to witt) black Bell and brandy p. viijl. iijs. paid on Rosley fell, and I gaue to my sonne p. feeding the beasts iiijl. iijs. The same day did Sam: goe from Swinsty and with him Mr. Powe, Tho: Jackson Robt. Jac. and my sonne Willim' all to Rosley fell together.

June 18th 1675 Mem. The sd day did Slightholme hird drive and keept their beasts upon Wedholme flow Mosse and Robt Wilson seaseing upon them to pind [i.e. to pinfold them as strays] a rescouse [i.e. rescue] was made [by] their hird.

[Illegal fishing.]

July 19th, 1675. franc :' Threlkeld cut Willim' Tompson Nett fishing att Phillipp Bouch poolle p. Troutts.

[Carlisle Assizes : Jackson again as butler.]

Carlile, Augt. xviijth, 1675. Assizes kept the day and yeare abouesd. Judges Rainesford and Littleton, Mr. Willlam Orfeuer then sheriffe : dined wth Sherife Thursday, Fryday and Saturday Lord Marshell, Earl of Carlile, Lord Castlerising and the two Judges, &c. Sunday the Judges and the Ld Bishopp Rainebow, Maior and Townesmen. Officers in the house: Tho: Benson, Neall Laine, Willim Hodgson in Butterie : James Jackson in Wine seller : ffrances Dalton Keeper of Lining. beare in the Butterie xj Hodgsheads, one and a halfe of stronge Ale in the Seller. two Hodgsheads of Wine, one Clarritt, and whitt and wine Brandie. the Sacke all aboue Stairs. Giuen in the Sellar Judges iijs. iiijd. Mr Dikes js. Mr Sandford js. and Mr Leatas [i.e. Latus] js. all vjs. iiijd.

[Sabbath breaking : see also under Aug. 14th, 1672.]

Sept. 4th 75. Did Winifred the wife of Wm: ffarish dight big [i.e. winnow barley] in towne gate witnes Anne Kendall, and Sept. [11th?], 75, same day senitt [i.e. se'en night] both being the Lords day did Wm: ffarish shott pidgions in the Church and shott att greene foull [i.e. young birds] in Stenke Sunday before.

[Jackson's Harvest.]

Corne growing in yeare 1675. Big in all growing—505 stouks ; beanes—47 ; pease—10. Oates in Westfield—105 : in Kilne butts—50 ; Uckaras, first croppe—282 ; Gards—196, Gentlemans Meadow—70 ; odd Stoukes—42 ; Croft Pot—x ; 755 oates. [Stooks] in all—1317.

[William's apprenticeship ended.]

Sept. 21th, 1675. Memordū. The day and yeare abovesd was the last day of my sonnes Willim'. prentishipp in Carlile

bound to Mr. Richd. Munks Merchant: and upon the 24th of the same month was he made a ffree Man att guild hall and sworne before Mr Stanwix then Maior and the rest of his brethren and had his treatm^{t} and the companie att Chamberline Tho: Jackson. Charges then ijl. xjs. Court day att Holme Cultram same day; went to waite upon them to Carlile his Uncle Hen: Currey.

Same day the tryall betwixt Wm Hayton plt. and Robt Anderson Defendt for the tenem^{t} in Brownerigge tryd p. Willim' Barwis of Tarnes and xv more Juriers wch found for the Defendt Anderson. Councell for Hayton Mr. Brisco of Crofton, for the defendt Mr Eaglonby.

[Rabbit warren.]

Octo: 3th, 75. Ingagd same day att Workinton to my M^{r} and my Cosin Richd Eaglesfield for to haue the Warrant [i.e. warren] and all Rabbetts in Holme Cultram p. xxs. or xiijs. iiijd.

[Court Baron.]

Octob^{r} xiiijth, 1675. Head Court kept that day: att Stewards table .14. men, 14s. afterwards in loft 6 men whereof two was to be two shilling and foure two shillings att vjd. apeice, in all p. vittalls 18s. in drinke att Stewds table 1s. 8d. in loft att diner one flagon, but anoth^{r} left p. H: Cur[rey] wch makes viijd: in all p. Drinke ijs. iiijd. p. diner 18s.

[Purchases.]

No: 23, 75, bought on Tho: Buttermire att Wigton 15li. of Candles att 4d. a pound—5s.

Dec. 23th, 75. Bought att Will: ffarish saile that day two old kine p. iiijl. iijs. iiijd. or their abouts.

[Southerfield: an early instance of sub-letting.]

ffeb. 21th, 1675. Southerfield hall letto Jo: Peat eld^{r} and Jo: Peat young^{r} for Mr. Antho: Senhouse for xiiijl. p. yeare. And they to pay all Rents Tythes Sessm^{ts} dues duties and Services that shall fall due p. yeare: but what Mr. Senhouse is pleased wth to give back p. Sessm^{ts}.

[John apprenticed.]

Mar. 21th, 1675, did I send to Mr. Gawin Chamb^{r} p. John Stamp Ten pounds and foure crownes for his wife upon p[ro]misse for my sonne Johns Apprenticeshipp and an acquittance for the same. Witnes John Stamp young^{r} and my sonne John Jackson.

[Mr. Monk's son from Carlisle boards at Jackson's to attend Bromfield school.]

Octob^r 3th, 1676 : Sam: Munke came to Swinsty Munday after Easter Munday in year 1676 and went away Oct. 3th (76). Six monthes at js. vjd. p. weeke comes to ijl. vjd. Went home with his fath^r and Cath: Peninton.

Pd to Mr. Munck in full of his shop booke Ja. 26th, 1676, 17s. 10d. and recd. on him £1 wch was for one halfe yeares table for his sonne Samuell when he went to Brumfield schole.

[Isabel Jackson's dowry.]

Ja: 1th, 1676 : Paid to My Sonne Simson the day xc' [i.e. etc.] in full Satisf'on of his wife's porc'on xjl. viijs. iiijd. being the last pay^mt wch Makes in all, in Money £120 and in household goods £x. agen all Release given p. same, witnessd p. Geo: M[iller ?] Tho: Crosse and Wm: Jackson.

[Joseph goes to Oxford.]

March jth, 1676. My sonne Joseph * went towards Oxford the day xc' his broth^rs (to witt) Richd. Willim John and Daniell altogether [accompanied him] ouer Crumbeck Bridge and Jo: Stamp : Money given to My Sonne Joseph when he went to Oxford p. friends. Mr Willim' Chamb^r 1s. My brother [i.e. father-in-law of his daughter] Simson 2s. John Simson 2s. 6d. Henry Currey 5s. Old Blackdike 2s. Sonne Richd. 1s. Broth^r

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* Our vice-president, the Rev. J. R. Magrath, Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, kindly gives the following notes on Joseph Jackson as well as others mentioned page 127, under Sept. 20th, 1680 :—

Joseph Jackson was at Queen's. He became fellow in 1685 and died rector of Bramshott, Hants., a college living, in 1729. See all about him in *The Flemings at Oxford*, ii., 37, and other references for which see index thereto.

"Mr. Mills" is certainly John Miln, who afterwards called himself Mill. He was fellow of Queen's 1670 to 1685, when he became Principal of Edmund Hall. He died 1707. His edition of the Greek Testament, which he just lived to finish, was the standard one in England for 150 years. His life is in the Dictionary of National Biography : see also *The Flemings at Oxford*, particularly i., 232.

"Mr. Chanceller" was Thomas Tullie of Edmund Hall, for whom see *The Flemings at Oxford*, ii., 350. There were a number of Tullys and Tullies at this time who have to be kept apart.

"Mr. ffielding" is probably Basil, lieutenant governor of Carlisle Castle under Sir Christopher Musgrave, for whom see *The Flemings at Oxford*, i., 542.

"Mr. Tho: Nichols" may be the T. Nicols, ordained priest by Bishop Nicolson on March 15, 1684-5 (these *Trans.*, N.S. i., 26).

"Mr How" may be the organist of the cathedral and mayor of Carlisle 1684, for whom see Bishop Ware's note to *Bishop Nicolson's Diaries*, these *Trans.*, N.S. i., 20.

"Tokens" sent to members of Queen's College are frequently mentioned in *The Flemings at Oxford*, and there are copious accounts of the later seventeenth-century clerics of these counties in Nightingale's *The Ejected of 1662* (Manchester University publications).

Willim' 2s. 6d. Broth^{r} John 2s. 6d. Broth^{r} Dan: 1s. Daniell Dickinson 1s. ffra: Threlkeld 3s. Robt. ffarish 2s. 6d. Robt. Wilson 1s. Joseph Brisco 1s. 6d. Jane Brim 1s. Tho: Jefferson 1s. Tho: Wilkinson 1s. Mr. Head 1s. Tho: Barne 1s. Anne Dalton 2s. Jo: Parkin 6d. John Benson 1s. John Stamp 1s. Mary Hudd^{rt} 1s. Anne Kendall 1s. My selfe, 12s. his Moth^{r}, in gold 5s.—in his pock^{t} £3 17. 0. To his Tut^{r} £6. in all £8. 17. 0. besides his Meare price [*blank*] his Meare sold att Oxford p. £3. 10. 0. in all wth him £12 .7. 0. his first lett^{r} from Oxford recd Mar. 25 (77) [i.e. 24 days after his leaving home.]

[Illegal ploughing.]

Aprill 2th, 1677. Sythy Wind^{r} did plow by force of Armes the ground letto Tho: Jefferey pt of Sandenhouse Grainge in mr Addisons grannt from the King, plowed p. Robt Stephenson draught, Jo: Austen and Jo: Stephenson his sonne and servant. Witnes hereof Tho: Jefferey Willim' Dreape.

Apr. 6th, 77 Jo: Wind^{r} and John his sonne plowing that wch was letto Tho: Jefferey via [*sic*] et Armis. Witnes, Tho: Jefferey Jo: Waite and Jam: Jackson.

[A woman's threat.]

Ap. 7. 77. Elsa : the wife of Edwd Peat said the day xc' that if Robt Stamp stayd in that house after Whitson Munday she would burne it.

[A short-lived grandson.]

Samuell Simson borne May 22th, 1677 and baptised May 30th following (77) at Howgill p. Mr. Watterson. Witnes at his babtisme Gregory Simson, James Jackson, Mrs. Dorithy Halton, her gift xxs. Broth^{r} Simsons 5s. mine owne xs. eu^{r}ye one xijd. to midwife. [*In margin*] Buried June 5th, 1682. [*Further on*] pd p. me for his Coffin makeing ijs. giuen poore people vjs. giuen servants in house ijs.

[Threats to the bailiff.]

June the second 1677. John Waite of Wath said before Arthur Parratt that if I did driue anie of his beasts he would take them from me and bange me to boott and then Raise Hue & Cry after me. Witnes hereof Arthur Par^{tt} and James Jackson.

[A new landlord.]

Sept. 22th 1677. Hugh Cogtons Reckening pd as thus, p. keeping Sandenhouse beasts for Mr Addison the first yeare of his entrance, due to him p. wages xc'. For my owne beasts goeing in Crooke 9s. out of iiijli. xijs. for Mr. Addisons grasse 13s. 1d.—£1. 2. 1. Allowd by him as thus to me ; p. 6 Bz. oates

12s. behind of an old Reckening 2s. 10d. pd to Jo: Walker p. Syth p. p'cept 3s. 5d. Allowd his Cow grass p. Mr. Addison 7s. —sum̄e £1. 5. 3.

Octob^r 15, 1677: Mr. Addison and Mr. Smithson went from Abbey-Holme after they had Compounded wth the cottagers. recd in money from them upon their Composition 60l. 13s. 6d. giuen my serv^ts att their goeing away 5s. to Dan: 2s. 6d. to My selfe ijl. in all—ijl. vijs. vjd.

Cottagers not compounded for att Mr. Addison and Mr. Smithsons goeing away O[ct]r 15th 77—

Tho: Miller, Skinburnes js. rent. fine	0.	17.	0
Tho: Waite, js. viijd. fine (*Receiud Lady Day* 78 *)	1.	8.	4
Wm: Messinger, js. rent. fine (*compounded*) ..	0.	17.	0
Jos: Messinger, js. rent, fine (*to be pd p. Wm. Langc' at Lady Day*)	0.	17.	0
John ffarish, js. viij rent, fine (*recd*)	1.	8.	8
John ffarish, js. rent. fine (*recd p fines*)	0.	17.	0
Tho: Glaist^rs, js. rent. fine (*recd*)	0.	17.	0
Jo: and Robt Huddert ijs. fine	1.	14.	0
Elin Litt p. Wm. Hudt. js. rent fine	0.	17.	0
Geo: Wilson p. Elsa: js. rent, fine (*iijs. to pay*) ..	0.	17.	0
Robt. Huggan ijs. rent. fine	1.	14.	0
John Stamp js. 6d. rent. fine (*to be pd p. me*) ..	1.	5.	6
Richd Allanby p. Elin Litt js. rent. fine	0.	17.	0
	13.	9.	6
Recd of Richd Chamb^r for .2. acres in Acredall for Rent due Mich last past. p. one yeare ..	00.	13.	02
Recd of Joan Miller, Octob^r 26th (77) for one yeares Rent for hir house and backside, ended att Christmas last past 1676	01.	02.	00

Oc.' 19th 77. A difference befell betwixt me and Jo: Paipe miller at Jos: Briscoes about pulling off his hatt, Mr. Addisons health being remembrd and saying he would pledg no such base fellowes hea[l]th, that had cheated the King 4000l. and would not gett thatch to his houses. Witnes Jos: Brisco his wife Tho: Crosse, and said he would Ruinate me and Rout me and my ffamilie out of Holme.

ffeb. xjth, 77. Jo: Paipe Miller did say in Pet^r Allanbyes house in Cockermouth that Lilburne and Addison had cheated the King of 3000l. but he would make Addison ashamed ere long. Witnes John Allanby eius ux^r.

* The entries in italics have been added later.

August xth, 1678 being Saturday the Judge came Inne Judge [Barton ?]. Memorandū. a tryall upon Scandelous words p. Mr. Addison agt Jo: Paipe, submission made p. Paipe.

No: 17th 79 : Bond entrd. to Mr. Wilfred Lawson then Sheriff for Mr. Addison Execution Money agt Jo: Paipe : pd to me by Robt. ffarish, Sheriffes ball' No: 19th, 79, on his owne house The whole exec' was 17 l. 10. 00.

[William sets up in business at Carlisle.]

ffeb. 9th 1677 sent John Stamp to my sonne Willim' Jackson to Carlile the day xc' wth a 100l. for his porc'on to begin his trade wth and 50l. he is to have from his m^r owing to me p. bond, in all £150.

March xjth 77. Willim' Glaisters lent Me his horse for My sonne Willim' to Ride to London on, and I sent Johns younge filly to him in lew of the same to worke p. Wm. Jackson and My boy Jo: Carmalt.

[Some public men.]

ffeb. 25th 1677 ; Charles Earle of Carlile went on his Jorney from London to be Governor of Jameicah :—The God of heaven be his Governor.

ffeb. 19th 1678. Election day at Baggary * for knts of the Shire (to witt) there Chosen Sr John Lowther and Richd Lamplugh esqr.

ffeb. 26th 1678. Memorandū. the day xc' did my Mr. [i.e. master] Richd Lamplugh esq. sett forward on his Jorney for London as a memb^r of the house of Comons wch God Almightie goe along with him, amen.

[Personal details.]

May 21th 1678. Jo: Paips two oxon trespassing in my Corne in Croft, witnes Jo: Stamp and Jo: Carmalt, deliu'ed to his wife who p'missed Satisfac'on.

May 31th 1678. My Grey Meares back broken by Jo: Stamp in goeing to Workinton wth a bushell of beanes.

Paid Octo: 24th 78, to Tho: Wilkinson for leging my boots anew viijs. mending Dans shoes js. iiijd. mending Sams shoes je all xs. iiijd.

No: 4th 78. My cow skine sold p. Jo: Stamp att Coc'. I bought cow on Jo: Dreape of Silleth att Rosley and pd him ijl. xjs. vjd. Skine sold p. xs. viijd.

My seales and Keyes lost Sunday 3th of Novr. 1678 in Vccarrasses.

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* Elections were usually at Cockermouth, not at Baggrow.

Decr. 6th, 1678. Worke wrought by Simo[n] Leck. 3. Carropps [i.e. cart ropes] .8. paire of tracces. 3. halters, 3. Slips 2 peces of Cordin. pd him js. 8d. hempe sold to him then as Much as came to ijs. viijd.

ffeb. 17th 1678. An agrem^{t} betwixt mr Tho: Graing^{r} and Ja: Jackson for Eddy^{sd} lees and boggs for. 4. yeares as the rest of the farm^{rs} hath it (to witt) att ijl. xs. a yeare to pay at Mich next jl. vs. att Lady daye following jl. vs. ingaged p. mr Graing^{r} and he the sole farmer of the sd ground.

Mar. 15th, 1678. Recd of Mr. Mounke for Sam: diet p. 39 weekes xs. Allowed in Shope booke (to witt) for my stuffe coat and seu^{r}all other things xxxs. 7d. Recd the same day iijl. for considerac'on of my 50li. in mr Ja: Nicholson hand p. my sonne Will.

[Joseph at Oxford.]

Mar. 17, 1678. Sent to my sonne Joseph to Oxon p. Burnyeats forty shillings and in his new britches pockett vjs. whereof sent p. his Moth^{r} js. in all ijl. vjs. borrowed of Burnyeat * att Oxon xs. in all ijl. 16. o.

Sent Joseph to Oxon p. Burneyeats June 24th 1678 iijli.

Sent to Jos: my sonne to Oxon p. Burneyeats Octob^{r} 1th 1678 p. John Stamp jli. sent to Burneyeats then for him selfe ijs. vjd.

Sept. 29th 79: Sent to my sonne Joseph att Oxon a suit and a coat with Triming for his Coat, and xs. in Money for a token by Richard Burneyeats.

[Servants, etc.]

Servants wages due and pd p. Whitsontide halfe yeare 1679. Pd to John Stamp his halfe yeare wages due then [amount blank]. pd to Mary Hudd^{rt} p. like due then 12s. pd to Tho: Crofft his wages due then 13s. pd to Ann Ritson hir wages due then 11s.

Servants wages due and paid att Martinmas, 1681. Pd Tho: Smith his wages due then 15s. pd Elsa: Hewson hir wages due then 10s. pd Tho: Crofft his wages due then £1. pd Annas Ritson hir wages due then 12s.

Madam Mary Moloyne, att our house, came Satur'. 17 May 79, stayd till Munday following: gaue in the house xd.—00. 00. 00.

May 22, 1679: Recd then of Jo: Bebie of Crookhirst att Cannonby for one years Consider' of my Money due May day last 00. 19. 00. witnes Willim Bowes.

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* Richard Burnyeat apparently travelled between Cockermouth and Oxford and acted as carrier. A John Burnyeat of Crabtreebank, c. 1630-90, was a well-known Quaker.

[A temperance pledge.]

Augt. 8th 1679: Hugh Cogton not to be in an ale house aboue an houre att a time, nor to be drunk nor taken in drinke (if soe) ingaged to pay to me 5s. p[ro] vjd. I gaue him. Witnes his wife and Jo: Martin.

[Taxes, etc.]

Sept. 24th 79. pd to Jo: Smith Constable. 2. pur[veys] and a halfe and fortith p't of a pur[vey] quat^{r} Sesse for disbanding Armie and iijs. vjd. to Constable. (my owne land 5d½, Wilsons ½ Sou[therfield] 4d½, gards 3d½, my m[aste]r sessem^{t} p. like ijs. iiijd. mr. Addisons p. like js.

Octo. 13th 79: Paid to John Smith Constable, Chimney sesse due Mich last past, my owne iijs. Sou[therfield] js.

Aprill 13th 1680. Recd then of John Caldbecke in pt for St John Rents due to the Kings Ma'tie att Mich last past, 79: for the Mannor of Gosford att Enerdal bridge ijl. iijs. jd. given Jo: Caldbecke for his paines iiijs. spent at Enerdal bridge js. vjd. given to my Cosins att Lampl[ugh] ijs. vjd. My son John wth me then.

Oct. xiijth 1680. Court Leet and Court Barron both one day xc' First table 16 men, 16s. in drinke xj flaggons 2s. 9d. a gill brandy 6d. Afterwards, 7 Men iijs. vjd., 5 flagons js. iijd. To the Assessers 4d. broth^{r} Simson in house 2d. Sum̄a p. Court Leet £1. 4. 6. ou[er] and beside viijd. pd and discharged to my Cosin Anne Dalton No: xijth 1680.

[Sale of a bull.]

Sold Octb^{r} 17th 1680 to Mr Gawin Chamb^{r} my bull bought of Mr Edwd Lamplugh, sold p. ijl. xs. given him back again p. my sonne John his prentice iis.

[A Scotch preacher.]

Octob^{r} 24th 80: did Mr Bourne a Scotch Man preach att Abbey-Holme, came from Carlile wth my sonne Willim' and Robt Atkinson a younge Merchant in Carlile: preacht twice.

[Southerfield.]

No: 23th 1680. My Souterfield tenem^{t} letto ffra: Twentimā p. three yeares to begin Lady day next (to witt 1681) to end Lady day 1684 to pay p. Ann' viijl. to witt att Mich. 81. iiijl. att Lady Day ffollowing iiijl. and soe to continue p. tearme of yeares, he to be freed of all Rents and Sessem^{ts}, Church dues excepted and to kepe in sufficient repaire wth thack and flack *; timber exceipted: recd in earnst Money js. witnes Wm. Chamb^{r}.

* "Thack," i.e. straw thatch; "flack," turf used in walls and roofing.

[Sir Isaac Newton's comet.]

Memor. Dec. 14th 1680: ffra. Threlkeld and Isabell Brigge married p. mr. Head. And that night did appeare a wonderfull Afferisme [i.e. apparition?] or stream^r in the west Continuing till almost Midnight and then sett in the low west to the great admirac'ons of Many p'sons.*

[Abuse of Drift.]

ffeb. 17th 1680: memor. Robt. Peate of Kingside arreasted att the suite of mr. Addison p. abuseing Drift. Submitted and pd his part of writt ijs. and ijs. upon his account and Reckening all crost of booke in all iiijs. to me. To Sheriffe ball' [? bailiff] ijs. iiijd. Witnes his owne wife.

[Fisheries.]

Memor. Dec. 6th 1680. An agremt p. prise fish till St. Andrew day next (81). Willim' Glaisters to pay p. that boating and a good fish ijs. John Halliday p. Sillith boating and a good fish and all controu^rsies ended iijs. Lees boating p. like p. Dick iijs. Recd. the last of Decr. 1680: of Jo: Halliday of Sillith for two yeares p. prise fish, ended att St. Andrew Day last past.

Apr. 25th (81) a good large sturgion found att sea p. Jo: Voake and Jos: Langcake of Cowyeat sent to the Earle of Carlile p. my sonne Richd by Mr. Stew'ds Order: I paid to those that found it iijs. viijd. given by the honble Earle to my sonne 5s.

[More about Joseph at Oxford.]

Sept. 20th, 1680: I went to Carlile to Meet wth Mr. Mills my sonne Joseph tut^r att Oxōn who was both sevill and kind to me giueing a good Carracter upon my sonne: in Companie att Carlile with Mr. Mills, Mr. Chanceller, Mr. ffeilding, Mr. Tho: Nichols, Mr. How, my sonne Will: and My selfe. Spent then in Renish wine iiijs. Sent Jos: p. token p. Mr. Mills 5s. peece.

Sept. 29th [80?] Mich Day. Sent to Oxōn to My sonne Joseph p. Burneyeats a fedder bed wth ticke, a waist Coat, and two paire of Stockens and in money 30s. to Coc[kermouth] p. Tho: Crosse.

Paid to Richd Burneyeats att Coc'. p. self Ja: 16th 80. for [carriage of] a bed ticke, a waist Coat and two paire of Stockens

* On the same night Sir Daniel Fleming saw this comet at Coniston—"a blazing starr with a very long tail—reaching almost to the middle of the sky from the place of the sun setting—a little after the sun setting, near the place where the sun did set. Lord have mercy upon us," he adds, "pardon all our sins, and bless the king and these kingdoms."

and xxxs. of Money to my sonne Joseph to Oxōn, iijs. and given to him selfe in his owne house js. vjd.

Ja: 31th 1680. Sent to my Sonne Joseph to Oxōn p. Burneyeates cloath, and triming for a suit, in Money iijl. and from his Mother js. p. Tom to Burneyeats. [*Added later*] pd Burneyeats att his returne for the same things iijs.

June 9th 1681. Sent to my sonne Joseph att Oxōn p. Burneyeats a gowne and suit of Cloathes wth all tryming. And in Money 5l. giuen the Carrier to him selfe ijs. and payd to him for his last carriage before iijs. for what was sent now is not pd. for xc'. till his returne from Oxōn.

Sent to my Sonne Joseph to Oxōn p. Burnyeats Thursday after Mich. day 1681 vjli. p. Tho: Cross, pd Burnyeats nothinge.

Sent p. Mr. Wm Nicholsō * Dec. 4th from Turpenhow a lett^r and 5s. peece to my sonne Joseph to Oxōn p. Thomas Crosse.

Sent to my sonne Jos: to Oxōn p. Richd Burneyeats vjl. giuen to him selfe ijs. and pd him for Money and Cloathes carrieing before, and then xc'. viijs. in all pd and giuen him wch discharges his booke xs. till his next iorney. att Mr. John Todes house xc'. ffeb. 13th (81?). giuen him in brandy vjd.

Sent to my Sonne Joseph Mich. 1682 p. Hen: Currey to Burneyeats 5l. and two shirts. 2. towells. Sent to him more p. Tho: Crosse ffeb. 18th, 1682, deliu^red to Burneyeats iijl. and 9. yeards and a halfe of Scotch Cloath and for Carrier to him selfe js. vjd. owing to him for Carriage the last voyage.

[Tithes.]

Paid May 4th, 1681 to Mr. Othniell Shrigley ptir [proctor] for S. Wm Dalston for tyth Meale for my tenem^t at Souterfield due May day last past for one whole yeare viijs, and for white booke and 2. communicans p. Swinsty and Maior Wilsons ijs. viijd. Soe pd in all to him in full satisfac'on of all tythes xs. viijd.

[Pledge against gaming.]

Giuen to Tho: Smith June 26th 1681 vjd. upon Condic'on he is not to play att anie vnlawfull game before Martinmas next otherwise he forfetts to me is. vjd. Witnes Tho: Crofft.

[Bleaching.]

Cloath bletched p. Mary Pott p. yeare 1681. brought home July 9th (81) pd p. same: ffirst, Middleings, 20 yeards, 1s. 6d.

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* William Nicolson, afterwards bishop, was then vicar of Torpenhow and previously fellow of Queen's College, Oxford. His mother was a Brisco of Crofton.

Small line, 15 yeards, 1s. 3d. Rounder line [i.e. coarser linen], 12 yeards, 1s. Line Towe, 12 yeards, 5d. Hemp Teare [i.e. finest fibre], 12 yeards, 10d. A peece twill, 9 yeards, pd nothing. Yeards in all 79. pd for bletching 5s. Allowd to hir for my Mosse rent due p. (81) iijs. pd in Money ijs. wch makes in all 5s.

[Draining.]

A crosse dame in Vccarasse Meadow put in p. Paull Bell and Willim' Tompson July 28th 81. pay for doeing it iijs. and a qurt^r of tobbacco. Scotts Parliam^t Sitt Downe same day (to witt) July 28th, 1681, att Edenbrough.

[His brother's death.]

John Jackson died ffeb. 19th, 1681 and buried ffeb. 21th, 1681 att Abbey Church.

[Sale of Sheep.]

Sold March xth 1682 to John Wilson of Rayby all the sheepe I then had wch is (18 or 19) for iijl. xs. whereof foure of them was this yeares weafes [i.e. stray sheep] wch is exceipted and if Claimed by anie and prou^d I am to abaite the raite of each sheepe soe claimed to pay before twelftide next.

[William and John go to London.]

Memorandū. April 20th, 1682. My Sonne Willim' and John sett on their iorney for London be Sea : wch God preserue wth a happie and prosperous Returne, xc'.

[His brother in law's death.]

Memor'. Sept. xth, 1683. Hen: Currey died and was buried Sept. xijth (83) att Cannonby church. Mr. King then Minister att Holme preacht his funerall Sermon. pd him xs.

Sept. xiijth 1683, did Wm: Langcake farmer to Hen: Currey come to Swinsty and then and there did turne farmer to Jane Jackson my wife. Witnes Tho: Jefferson and Jo: Steele my man by giueing hir vjd. of his tenem^t lieing in Alwarby.

[Last entries.]

Recd. of my broth^r Lancloat for Jo: Crackplace for consider of his bond for one yeare Octo: 18th, 1683 [*no sum entered.*]

Recd. ffeb: 2th, 83, of Mabell Skelton for house rent due then for one half yeare, vijs.

ART. VIII.—*Lanercost Foundation Charter.* Part I. By T. H. B. GRAHAM, M.A.

Read at Carlisle, September 1st, 1920.

LANERCOST Priory acquired, at the date of its foundation, the lawn (*lauda or landa*) of Lanercost, lying between the old wall and Irthing and between Burth and Poltros; Burth being Burtholme beck close to the priory, and Poltros the burn which forms the boundary of Northumberland. At the eastern extremity of that long narrow strip of territory, there once stood a solitary building known as "Monks Hall." There is reason to suppose that it was originally the hall, or farmhouse, belonging to the priory, but it had been converted into a wayside inn.

Ogilby's *Road-Map*, 1675, shows that the highway from Brampton to the east then proceeded *via* Chapelburn and Thirlwall castle, crossing the Poltros, meanwhile, at the traditional site of "Monks Hall," but it does not indicate that building. It is mentioned however, about 1695, in the *Diary of Celia Fiennes*, edit. Griffiths, p. 173:

> I came to Longtown. Thence I crossed over a tedious, long, heath to Brampton. Thence to Mucks Hall, six miles. Here I passed by my lord Carleton's, which stands in the midst of woods.* At Muncks Hall I crossed another brook, and so out of Cumberland I entered Northumberland. This is the place the judges dine. It's a sorry place for entertainment of such a company. Here the sheriffs meet them, it being the entrance to Northumberland.

The parish register of Nether Denton † has an entry,

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* The diarist seems to allude to Naworth Castle, which had been occupied by the Carletons of Carleton, in Queen Elizabeth's reign.

† Monks Hall was then situate in the little parish of Over Denton, since incorporated in the ecclesiastical district of Gilsland, which derives its misleading name from the once famous "Gilsland Spa."

in 1717, relating to the burial of Margaret, wife of Thomas Carrick, of *Monks Hall* (these *Transactions*, O.S. xiv, p. 228).

After the rebellion of 1745, the old highway was almost superseded by the new one, which crosses the Poltros, much higher up, at Temon, where, it is said, the sheriff continued to meet the judge of assize. Monks Hall, shorn of the little dignity it possessed, as a place of entertainment, became popularly known as "Mumps Hall." Sir Walter Scott explains the epithet in his note to *Guy Mannering*:—

> There is, or rather I should say *there was*, a little inn called *Mumps's Ha'*, that is, being interpreted, "Beggars' Hotel," near to Gilsland, which had not then attained its present fame as a spa. It was a hedge alehouse, where the Border farmers of either country often stopped to refresh themselves and their nags, on their way to and from the fairs and trysts in Cumberland, especially those who came through the Waste of Bewcastle, and Mumps's Ha' had a bad reputation.

The foundation charter, as quoted by Chancellor Prescott,* (*Wetherhal*, p. 419), proceeds to convey the vill of Walton. One of its boundaries was "the sike which descends (into the river Cambeck) from the black oak on the road, leading (from Lanercost) to Cumquencath." The sheriff accounted, in 1197, for two marks of the *donum* of Robert de Cunquentat (*Pipe Roll*). It appears from Richard I.'s confirmation charter (Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, p. 237) that the founder afterwards gave the vill of "Conquetach" to the priory. It marched with the manor of Torcrossoc, because, about the year 1252, there was an agreement made between Ronald, son of Alan, Isabella, his wife, and the prior of Lanercost, concerning the bounds between Torcrossoc and "Cumquenstat" (Denton *Accompt*, edit. Ferguson, p. 163).

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* Professor Ekwall, having recently (July, 1921) compared the originals and studied the names, throws doubt on the forms as given by Dugdale (*Mon.* vi, part i, p. 236). Other readings he kindly communicates are also adopted.

Some other benefactors, William de Mora and Agnes his wife, released to the priory one-third of "Quinquathill," being all their land in Little Cambec, which was probably a sub-manor of Kirkcambeck (Nicolson and Burn, ii., 498).

The present road from Lanercost to Kirkcambeck crosses Knorren beck, a little tributary of the Cambeck, and at that crossing presumably stood the black oak. From another side (*ex alia parte*) of the same oak the line of demarcation was drawn to "the sike Polterheved, which falls into King." If the modern parish boundary of Walton coincides with that of the ancient vill, the line would have reached the river King opposite Burthinghurst.

It should be borne in mind that the manor of "Walton Wood," on the eastern bank of the King, never belonged to the monks, although the founder gave them pasture "everywhere in his forest of Walton." At the period of the Elizabethan Survey of Gilsland, the northern boundary of the manor of Walton Wood, parcel of the barony, was the "Friar Waingate," or monks' waggon road, which crossed the river King at the bridge still known as "the Waingate" (Hutchinson, *Cumb.* i., 100).

The foundation charter further conveyed the lawns of Warthcoleman, Roswrageth and Apeltrethwayte. By final concord of 1256, Thomas, son of Thomas de Multon, empowered Lanercost Priory to enclose its park of Warthcolman with a ditch and low hedge and to maintain a deer-leap there (*Victoria History Cumb.* ii., 155). The proceedings related to the manor of Great Askerton (these *Transactions*, N.S. vii., p. 226). According to the confirmation charter, the "two Askertons" were given by the founder to the priory. At the Dissolution, Thomas Dacre acquired a messuage called "Stonehouse," in Wath Colman, in the parish of Lanercost, with meadow, arable land and common of pasture in the moor called "Banksfield," in Lanercost, belonging

to that messuage (Nicolson and Burn, ii., 501). Solmain, on the boundary between Walton and Lanercost parishes, is possibly identical with Warthcoleman of the foundation charter, because the Wath, or ford, still existing at that spot, furnishes a clue to the etymology of the place-name. Roswrageth, shorn of its prefix, bears some resemblance to Graggel, or Raghill, which is described, in the Elizabethan Survey, as common belonging to the manor of Triermain and abutting upon that of Walton Wood. Apeltrethwayte (Appeltrewaitt in the confirmation charter), seems to be Appletree, a locality upon the line of the Roman Wall.

The foundation charter also gave "some land in the moor of Brenkibeth by these bounds, namely, as Sechenent falls into Herthin[g]burn, and then, towards Tindale, by the bounds by which Gille, son of Bueth, held it; common pasture of the whole moor; one winter shieling in a convenient place beyond Herthingburn"; and right of way to Warthcoleman, Roswrageth, Denton and Brenkibeth. Denton is not referred to elsewhere in the foundation charter. The Ordnance Map marks Breckney Bed, a mile and a half west of Triermain castle, but the name, though similar, cannot represent Brenkibeth. Richard I.'s confirmation charter clearly identifies Herthingburn:—"a piece of land between Sechenent and Nentement and one shieling in a convenient place beyond Hartlingburna; together with common pasture of Tinieleside; and a certain waste between Hertlingburne and Blacheburne." Herthingburn is therefore Hartleyburn, and Blackburn is a stream close by in Northumberland. Sechenent is Hainingburn, which flows from Tindal Tarn into Hartleyburn. That is not mere conjecture, because, at the Dissolution, the priory possessed a messuage called "Seebie Neese," * in the parish of Lanercost,

* Probably Sievyness, *i.e.*, a rushy nose of land.

with meadow and common of pasture (Nicolson and Burn, ii., 501) and Donald's map shows Sibineze on the tongue of land between Hainingburn and Hartleyburn.

A neighbouring land-owner, Adam de Tindale, disputed the founder's title to part of the premises, but subsequently confirmed to the house of Lanercost *calumpniam suam in mora de Brenkibeth versus Robertum de Vallibus* (see *Hexham Priory*, Surtees Society, no. 46, p. 85).

The spelling of place-names in Dugdale's copy of the foundation charter (formerly in possession of Lord William Howard), is very corrupt, and in deciding the orthography of Cumguencath, Herchingburn, Brenkibech, Sechevent, &c., it should be remembered that there is a tendency to substitute the letter c for t, u or v for n, and *vice versa*. The copy, quoted by Prescott (*Wetherhal*, p. 421), omits the words "some land in the moor of Brenkibeth" but refers to that locality elsewhere.

The confirmation charter refers to a mysterious locality called "Lanrecaithin" (elsewhere Lanrekeythin), which appears to indicate Lanerton in the parish of Lanercost. In 1295, Robert de Denton, described as "of Lanerton," held £10 of land at Denton directly of Thomas de Multon, lord of Gilsland (*Cal. Inq. p.m.* 23 Ed. I., p. 186). In 1318, Adam de Swinburne held Lanerton of Ranulf de Dacre and Margaret his wife, by service of sixpence cornage rent, and his son Henry aged 21 and more, was his heir (*ibid.*, 12 Ed. II., p. 95). Henry forfeited the inheritance (see *Hist. of Northumberland*, issued by County Hist. Committee, vol. IV., p. 308, where the family pedigree is given). By a second inquest held in January, 1326-7, concerning the lands of Adam de Swinburne, it was found that one of his three co-heirs was Gerard de Widdrington, son of Adam's daughter Christiana (*Cal. inq. p.m.*, 20 Ed. II., p. 473).

On February 14th, 1326-7, there was an order to deliver

seisin of the manor of Lanerton, Cumberland, worth £12 13s. 4d. *per annum* to Gerard (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1 Ed. III., p. 8). Gerard's ancestor, John de Widdrington, of Widdrington, Northumberland, acquired the adjacent manor of Old otherwise Over Denton, nearly half a century previously. The genealogy of the Widdringtons is furnished by Hodgson, *Northumb.*, part ii., vol. II., p. 230.

John Denton, the historian, should be an authority on the history of this corner of Cumberland, for it was the cradle of his family, but his account of Over Denton and Nether Denton is strangely obscure. His statement that those two ancient parishes represented equal moieties of a larger manor of Denton is incredible. Buethbarn and his son Robert son of Bueth (see pedigree, these *Transactions*, N.S. xvi., p. 40) were certainly lords of Nether Denton, because they disposed of its church. Robert son of Anketin (*or* Asketin *or* Asketill), nephew of Robert son of Bueth, was certainly lord of Over Denton, because he disposed of its church.

But that Robert son of Anketin was lord also of Nether Denton may be gathered from the following circumstances:—Robert de Vallibus, founder of Lanercost Priory, describes his paramount interest in the premises as *baronia mea de terra quae fuit Gille filii Bueth*, and, in the presence of Robert son of Asketill and others, gives to the monks of Lanercost "land in my wood (*boscus*) of Brampton, for making barns and collecting their tithes, adjoining the hedge (*sepes*) of Laysing"; and the confirmation charter mentions the gift by David son of Terrec (probably the under-tenant) and Robert son of Asketill of "the hermitage, which Leising held, together with land, which they perambulated for the canons, and common pasture in Denton." Laysing's hermitage and hedge adjoined the manor of Brampton, and were therefore in Nether Denton.

Again, the confirmation charter refers to the gift, by

Robert son of Bueth and Robert son of Asketin, of half a carucate in the territory of Denton and pasture for one "milking" of sheep and for 20 cows and a bull, with nutriment of two years. That half carucate and pasture were probably within easy reach of the priory and in Nether Denton. It is therefore suggested that the two manors of Denton did not vest in co-heiresses, but passed in due succession from Robert son of Bueth to Robert son of Anketin and the latter's son John de Denton.

The Widdringtons were still mesne lords of Over Denton when John Denton, the historian, wrote, and he records (without citing his authority) that Richard de Stonland and Helena his wife gave that manor, in 1278-9, to John de Widdrington. It does not appear how Richard became possessed of Over Denton. His family were connected with Durham, because an *inspeximus* of 1312 is witnessed by Hugh de Stonland (*Register of Richard de Kellawe, bishop of Durham, Rolls Edition*, vol. iv., p. 99) and Thomas de Stoneland was admitted to holy orders at Durham, in 1334, by John bishop of Carlisle (*ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 153). To avoid confusion, it must be stated that the Widdringtons of Widdrington had considerable interest in another manor of Denton, near Newcastle (Hodgson, *Northumb.*, part ii., vol. II., p. 225).

Much later, in 1367, Roger de Widdrington gave the manors of Denton and Lanerton in Gilsland, Cumberland, to grantees and directed them to deliver seisin of the same to his son John de Widdrington and Katherine daughter of William de Acton, knight, by virtue of an indenture made at Warkworth in the same year (*ibid.*, p. 252).

It is an error to suppose that Old Denton, otherwise Over Denton, was at any period part of Northumberland. Robert de Anketin, lord of the manor of Old Denton (*Vetus Denton*) was witness to the foundation charter of Lanercost Priory in 1169, and then, or later, endowed it

with the advowson of his parish church. Robert de Vallibus, his over-lord, was a party to the transaction, so it is evident that the manor was parcel of the barony of Gilsland. Old Denton was not in the diocese of Carlisle, but (like Alston) in that of Durham. Consequently, Hugh, bishop of Durham at the date of the foundation charter, gave Lanercost Priory permission to appropriate the living, and to reserve to itself the annual pension of half a mark to be paid by the vicar (*Register of Lanercost* quoted by Nicolson and Burn ii., 509). At the *Taxatio* of Pope Nicholas, 1291-2, under the heading "Diocese of Durham, deanery of Corbridge," the rectory [*sic*] of Denton in Gilsland and the said pension were valued. At the *Nova Taxatio* of Edward II.'s reign, 1318, the same rectory and pension are mentioned but not valued, because, it may be inferred, the benefice had been laid waste by the Scots (*Record Commission edition*, pp. 316, 331). The extraordinary plight of this poor little parish in after times is referred to in these *Transactions*, o.s. iii., p. 157.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the bishop of Durham's jurisdiction had become vague (Nicolson, *Miscellany Accounts*) and, since the end of the same century, the jurisdiction has been assumed and exercised by the Bishop of Carlisle. The land originally given to the priory was bounded by the Irthing river and Poltros burn. Consequently, Over Denton lay in Cumberland. The pele tower, known as the "old vicarage," may have been its manorial mansion.

The etymology of "Lanercost" is difficult. The first element of the place-name seems to be *landa*, a lawn or open space untouched by the plough; the second, *costura*,* a variant of *cultura*, that is to say a tract of arable field.

* If the penultimate vowel of the term *costura* is short, the suggested etymology is still more likely. It is spelt *costera* in the Durham *inspeximus* above referred to.

Du Cange notices the word and cites a thirteenth century instance of its use :—*duo arpenta terrae in costura nostra.* It is believed that the priory was in existence before the date of the foundation charter, and it is natural to imagine that it was described as standing *ad landae costuram,* "at the field of the lawn" just as another monastery, Holm Cultram Abbey, may have been described as situate *ad holmi culturam,* "at the field of the holm." *

In perusing the title-deeds of Lanercost Priory, difficulties regarding place-names occur to the reader's mind. The above remarks call attention to those difficulties, but a satisfactory solution is hardly possible until the text of the *Register* of Lanercost has been carefully edited.

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* Objection is made to the derivation *ad holmi culturam,* because Simeon of Durham, who died in 1130, some twenty years before the foundation of Holm Cultram Abbey, mentions that, in 854, the church of Carlisle and the *mansio* of Culterham [*sic*] belonged to Lindisfarne (*Historia Regum, Rolls Edition,* vol. ii., p. 101). There can be no doubt that he indicates Holm Cultram, and his spelling is perhaps a phonetic rendering of *Cultram,* the name given to the house, because it stood at the common field.

Costera usually signifies "side" or "shore." Lanercost may therefore be *Landae costera,* "lawnside" or "lawnbank."

Lanerton was so spelt in 1293, when Robert de Denton had permission to found a chantry in the chapel of his manor of Lanerton, on payment of one pound of wax yearly, and all offerings to the mother church of Lanercost (*Register of Lanercost,* quoted by Prescott, *Wetherhal,* p. 322).

ART. IX.—*Scaleby.* By T. H. B. GRAHAM, M.A.

Communicated at Carlisle, September 1st, 1920.

SCALEBY was held for many generations by the Tilliols. The ancestor of the family was Richard Ridere, who obtained a grant of land from Henry I. That grant certainly included the manor of Scaleby, except part thereof which appears later in possession of another tenant-in-chief, namely the lord of the barony of Gilsland; and it probably included the vill of Houghton with which Scaleby is afterwards associated and comprised in the description "barony of Houghton." Canon James Wilson supposes (*Ancestor*, no. 4, p. 88), that Richard Ridere is identical with "Richard the Knight" of the pipe rolls. The sheriff accounted, in 1130, for various sums of noutgeld, collected from cornage tenants by Richard the Knight; for 13s. 4d. of land, granted by the king's writ to Richard the Knight; for 20s., which the same Richard had paid for the "farm" of his own land; and for five marks of silver. which Richard the knight owed for land which was Etard's, by such service as any other freeman should perform (*Pipe Roll*). Etard's land was the manor of Etterby, near Carlisle, afterwards held *in capite* by the Tilliols. The assumption of the surname Tilliol * by Richard Ridere's descendants suggests that they were of foreign extraction.

The curtain falls for an interval, while kings of Scotland hold sway over the land of Carlisle, and when it is raised Henry II. has recovered possession of that territory and made a new grant, to Peter de Tilliol, of land formerly held by his predecessor, Richard Ridere (*Testa de Nevill*).

* *Tillolium* (le Tilleul) is a locality near le Havre (*Red Book*, Rolls Edition, p. 641).

In 1158, Peter de Tilliol owed the king 50s., for the land of his grandfather (*Pipe Roll*).

Peter possessed a tenement at Rickergate within the city of Carlisle, because a merchant's house is described as situate *in vico Ricardi*, that is to say in the "gate" or street of Richard, adjoining the *baronia*.* (capital mansion) in the same street, belonging to Peter de Tilliol (*Register of Holm Cultram*, quoted by Canon Wilson, *loc. supra cit.*, p. 89). It will presently appear that Richard Ridere's descendants were in possession of Richardby (Rickerby near the city) held of the Priory of Carlisle by render of one mark, so the last-mentioned locality seems to derive its name from their ancestor. Henry II. further gave to Peter de Tilliol *Holmus Werri*, then in the king's hand, to hold at the rent of 20s. a year (*Placit. Abbrev.*, p. 66). Canon Wilson is of opinion that reference is here made to the pasture known as "Weary Holm," † lying on the south bank of the Eden opposite Etterby, and that it took its name from Werric, an early foreign settler at Carlisle (*loc. supra cit.*, p. 90). The Pipe Roll of 1130 refers to land at Carlisle, formerly belonging to Gueri the Fleming, who is presumably identical with the said Werri, *or* Werric. Pipe Rolls of later date mention other Flemings, namely Reiner, in 1181, Randulf and Walter, in 1185, and Richard, in 1204. Peter de Tilliol was witness to the foundation charter of Lanercost Priory, about 1169, and died in 1183, when Simon his son (see accompanying Pedigree), owed a fine in respect of his father's land (*Pipe Roll*). Simon confirmed to Lanercost Priory land at Scaleby, given by his father, and made a further benefaction (*Register of Lanercost*, quoted by Canon Wilson *loc. supra cit.*, p. 90).

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* Baronia means a "bundle of manors." Here it signifies *caput baroniae*, just as *manerium* sometimes signifies *caput manerii*.

† It is so called in a map contained in *Royal Charters*, edit. Ferguson, p. 284.

The sheriff accounted in 1201 for half a year's issue of Holweri belonging to Simon de Tilli * ; and for a fine, paid by Simon de "Tiwil," for land which he held by cornage, in order that he might not cross the sea (*Pipe Roll*). He was dead in 1204, when Geoffrey de Lucy paid 20 marks and a palfrey, for having the marriage of Simon de Tilliol's widow, so that he might marry her with her consent and by counsel of her friends (*ibid.*). To Geoffrey de Lucy was further granted wardship of Peter, son and heir of Simon, and of his land, worth £15 a year and rendering 11s. 11½d. for cornage, by which service Henry I. gave the same land to Richard Ridere, Simon's predecessor (*Testa de Nevill*). At the general inquisition made in 1210-12, the land so held in wardship is described as one vill paying 20s. 11½d. or, according to a better reading, 11s. 11½d., for cornage (*Red Book*, p. 494). Holweri appears to have been retained in the king's hand, because the sheriff continued to account, in 1214, for the "farm" thereof (*Pipe Roll*).

In 1227, the boundary between the lands of Richard de Levington, of Kirklinton, and Peter de Tilliol, of "Scales," was in dispute. If the sheriff could not arrange the matter, Richard received leave to claim the disputed land by writ of right, and Peter to defend the action by grand assize or battle, as he preferred (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, i., p. 176).

Peter was appointed, in 1234, associate to assist justices making inquisition concerning the forest of Cumberland (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 18 Hen. III., p. 576). He died in the autumn of 1246, and his *inquisitio post mortem*, made in the following December, is an instructive document. Robert and Odard de Etterby were members of the jury, which returned a verdict that Peter de

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* A clerical error. *Tilleium* (Tilly-sur-Seulles) is the locality from which another Norman family, de Tilli, took its surname (*Red Book*, p. 642).

"Tillolf" * was seised, in his demesne of Scaleby, of 233 acres arable; 20 acres meadow; a mill worth 7 marks; 4 acres arable and one acre meadow, held by David the singer (*cantator*) and Gilbert son of Beatrice; the capital mansion, with houses and grazing, valued at 6s. 8d.; pasture for one *vaccaria*; and the sustenance of work cattle. He had 20 *bondi*, holding 31 oxgangs of arable land in bondage, each worth 4s. a year, and also holding 34 acres arable and three acres and a rood meadow. He had six *cottars*, holding six cottages and 14 acres and a rood arable. He had freeholders, holding houses, with curtilages, in the suburb of Carlisle, and paying yearly farm 64s. 8d. and two pounds of pepper. Amis le Norras † held two oxgangs arable by charter, and paid 12d. a year; John de Hotton (Houghton) held two oxgangs arable in Houghton, and Henry de Cormannoc held the remainder of Houghton by cornage, ward and relief. Adam Paumer held 30 acres; Odard de Etterby held Etterby and paid 16s. a year for everything. Peter de Tillolf held all the aforesaid lands in chief of the king, by cornage-rent of 15s. a year, except one carucate in Scaleby, which was held of Thomas de Multon by knight-service. Peter also held Rickerby, of the prior of Carlisle, for one mark yearly. Geoffrey his son and heir was sixteen years of age in the first week of Lent last and was lying sick at Cambridge ‡ and the jury had not any information concerning his marriage (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, i., p. 313).

Mary, widow of Peter de Tilliol, gave security that she

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* This variant of the surname may be a corruption formed by analogy to Randolf, Rudolf and Bardolf.

† Henry Noreis had formerly given two acres in the vill of "Scales" to Lanercost Priory (*Richard I.'s Confirmation Charter*).

‡ Richard, son of Reginald de Lucy of Coupland, had land at Cambridge, in 1200 (*Pipe Roll*). John Denton supposes (*Accompt*, edit. Ferguson, p. 152) that Geoffrey de Tilliol's mother was a daughter of Geoffrey de Lucy, whose children are enumerated in *Genealogist*, N.S., XV., p. 130.

would not marry again without the king's consent, and received dower of all her late husband's land in Cumberland (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 31 Hen. III., p. 486). Robert de Dacre paid a fine, in 1247, for having custody of the land and heir of Peter and the heir's marriage (*Rot. Fin.*, edit. Roberts, ii., p. 18), and on December 25th, 1246, the escheator was ordered to allow the executors of Peter's will to have administration of his goods (*ibid.*, p. 4).

Geoffrey de Tilliol paid a fine, in 1256, that he might have respite for three years from making himself a knight (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 40 Hen. III., p. 472). The fact that he held some land at Scaleby, of the lord of Gilsland, by " knight-service " may have been a pretext for the demand.

At this period, there is mention of a certain Robert de Tilliol, who, it is suggested, was member of a younger branch of the family and under-tenant of the Gilsland portion of Scaleby. According to the *Chronica de Melsa* (Rolls edition, i., 307) Robert de Tilliolf had, in 1197-1210, acquired the vill of Westhatfield in Holderness, Yorks. The younger branch seems to have become extinct, because, later on, Westhatfield and the Gilsland portion of Scaleby were held by the elder branch.

Radulf de Tilliol was rector of Kirkcambeck in 1259 (Prescott, *Wetherhal*, p. 198).

In 1261, William, son of Robert, brought an action of novel disseisin against Geoffrey, son of Peter de Tilliol, and Robert de Tilliol, concerning common pasture in Scaleby (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, i., p. 442). Safe conduct was granted, in 1266, to Robert de Tilliol, coming to the king's court, provided he stood his trial; and also to Geoffrey de Tilliol (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 50 Hen. III., p. 554).

Robert de Tilliol was exempted for life, in 1270, from being made sheriff against his will (*ibid.*, 54 Hen. III., p. 426).

A charter, dated June 29th, 1271, is witnessed by Geoffrey de Tilliol and Robert de Tilliol, seneschal of Gilsland (Prescott, *Wetherhal*, p. 307).

On February 5th, 1278, Geoffrey obtained respite until Michaelmas of becoming a knight (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 6 Ed. I., p. 440).

In a plea of assize, 1278, the jury found that Geoffrey held the manor of Scaleby and the barony of Houghton of the king by cornage (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, ii., p. 37).

There was a complaint, in 1278-9, that Geoffrey had amerced some freemen in his lord's court, without their peers and contrary to the statute, and, in the same year, Robert de Etterby, who was probably his under-tenant at Etterby, was chosen a conservator of Eden by consent of the county (*ibid.*, ii., p. 39).

Geoffrey de Tilliol, styled "knight," was one of the jurors at the *inquisitio post mortem*, in 1281-2, of Baldwin de Wake, lord of Liddel, of whom he held the manor of Solport, by cornage (*ibid.*, p. 63). Geoffrey was lessee of land at Torpenhow in 1292 (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, ii., p. 151).

By means of a fine, levied in 1293, between Geoffrey de Tilliol, plaintiff, and John, bishop of Carlisle, deforciant, concerning the advowson of Scaleby, Geoffrey, in consideration of the payment to himself of 25 marks of silver, quitclaimed the advowson to the bishop and priory of Carlisle, for ever ; and there is a memorandum that the bishop's predecessors were seised of the advowson, long before the Statute of Mortmain, and that Walter, formerly bishop (1223-46) collated and instituted Richard le Hardres, clerk, to the living (Nicolson and Burn, ii., 460).

Henry I. founded the see of Carlisle at the period when he gave Scaleby to Richard Ridere, and it is possible that Richard conveyed the appendant advowson to the bishop as an endowment of the see.

On April 7th, 1295, there was an order to take into the

king's hand the lands late of Geoffrey de Tilliol, deceased tenant-in-chief (*Cal. Fine Rolls*, 23 Ed. I., p. 351), and a writ was issued for an inquisition, at which it was proved that Geoffrey had the capital messuage of Scaleby; 100 acres arable; 10 acres meadow; 47s. rent of tenants at will; and one pound of cummin and fourpence, rent of a free tenant; all held of the king in chief, by cornage of half a mark and suit at the county court. Also two parts of the vill of Scaleby, with a water mill, held of the lord of Gilsland, by homage and suit at the court of Irthington. Also the manor of Rickerby, held of the prior of Carlisle, by homage and suit at the court of Bochergate (*de vico Bochardi*) in the suburb of Carlisle, and one mark yearly. Robert his son (perhaps by a second marriage,*) aged 30 and more, was his heir (*Cal. inq. p. m.*, 23 Ed. I., p. 147).

The escheator was ordered, on May 18th following, to deliver seisin of the land to Robert (*Cal. Fine Rolls*, 23 Ed. I., p. 353). Thomas de Multon, lord of Gilsland, died about the same time as Geoffrey, and Robert de Tilliolf was his under-tenant of £10 of land at Scaleby. Robert held the same by homage and suit of court only (*Cal. inq. p. m.*, 23 Ed. I., p. 186). That is a larger estate in the Gilsland portion of Scaleby than the one carucate mentioned in 1246, and there seems to have been meanwhile an unrecorded devolution of that mesne lordship.

The sheriff reported, in 1296, that Robert de Tilliol had the king's writ for seisin of the hamlet of Houghton, of which William de Moravia was under-tenant, at the rent of £4 a year (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, ii., p. 172).

In 1297, under the heading "Holderness" Robert Tiliolf paid the ninth of his personal property (*Yorks. Archæol. Society's Publications*, vol. xvi., p. 131).

* Geoffrey must have been 65 years of age. There is not any direct evidence that there were two successive Geoffreys, as the compiler of the old pedigree believed (Denton, *Accompt*, edit. Ferguson, p. 152).

A certain John de Tilliol was one of the coroners for Cumberland in 1301 (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, ii., p. 309). In 1307, Master John de Blencow, acolite, was collated and instituted by the bishop to the church of Scaleby, vacant by the death of Master Henry de Skipperton, late rector; reserving the annual pension of 20s. due of old to the bishop at Michaelmas (*Halton Register*, edit. Thompson, i., 285).

Robert de Tilliol obtained licence, in 1307, to crenellate his dwelling-house at Scaleby (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1 Ed. II., p. 8) and received a grant, in the same year, of free warren in all his demesne lands there (*Cal. Charter Rolls*, p. 107). In 1315, the bishop collated and instituted Stephen called Marshal (*Marescallus*) subdeacon, to the church of Scaleby, vacant by the death of Master John de Blencow, late rector, reserving the said pension (*Halton Register*, ii., p. 109).

The king owed Anthony de Lucy a sum of money, in 1320, for having kept the peel of Scaleby from November 28th, 1317 until November 29th, 1318 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 13 Ed. II., p. 409).

Robert de Tilliol, at his death in 1321, had Westhatfield, in Holderness, Yorks., settled upon himself and Matilda his wife for their joint lives, with remainder to his own heirs; also Scaleby manor, including one-sixth part of the hamlet of Houghton, and tenements called "le Fourhowis" and "le Heyberys"; all held of the king in chief, by service of 11s. 10½d. cornage, which cornage gave wardship and marriage; also 24 acres in demesne, 8 acres meadow and 40 acres, bovates of land wasted by the Scots; all held of the lord of Gilsland by service of one-tenth of a knight's fee and suit at the court of Irthington; also the capital messuage of Rickerby, 80 acres arable, 10 acres meadow, 175 acres arable, formerly occupied by tenants, and a fishery in Eden; all held of the prior of Carlisle, by service of homage and

suit of court, and rendering 13s. 4d. yearly; also three burgages in Carlisle, four tofts outside Richard's gate in the suburb, wasted, and one croft, held of the king in chief as of the fee or manor of Scaleby, by service of the above-mentioned cornage of Scaleby. Peter his son, aged 22 at the previous Martinmas, was his heir (*Cal. inq. p. m.*, 14 Ed. II., p. 166). He was survived by his widow Matilda, daughter and co-heiress of Roger and Isabella de Lascelles, of Ellerton, Yorks. (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 16 Ed. II., p. 662).

In 1328, Peter de Tilliol and Isabel * his wife brought an action concerning the manor of Rickerby (*Record Office Lists and Indexes*, no. xxxii., p. 77). Matilda, daughter of Peter de Tilliol, knight, was wife of Hugh de Lowther, the younger, in 1338 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 12 Ed. III., p. 113).

Stephen Marshal resigned the living of Scaleby in 1342, and Master William Carleton was collated in his place. In the same year, Robert de Howes was collated, but shortly afterwards exchanged the living with Roger de Crumwell (Nicolson and Burn). Peter de Tilliol's mother, Matilda, died on August 10th, 1343, seised of Westhatfield, held for life, of the inheritance of Peter, son and heir of her second husband, Robert de Tilliol; and Swine, held for life, of the inheritance of Robert, son and heir of her first husband, William de Hilton (*Cal. inq. p. m.*, 17 Ed. III., p. 292).

Peter's under-tenant at Etterby was Robert Parvyng who held one-third of a messuage and four acres there, by service of 20d. yearly and suit at the court of Scaleby, every three weeks (*ibid.*, p. 304).

In 1345, Peter and others were commissioned to make a visitation of the king's hospital of St. Nicholas, Carlisle, reported to be greatly decayed by misrule, and to reform

* Isabel Tilliol is named in 1348, in connection with Lytham, Lancashire (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 33 Ed. III., p. 287).

the state of the hospital (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 19 Ed. III., p. 575).

Peter de Tilliol died October 30th, 1349, seised of Westhatfield, Houghton manor, two messuages and two gardens at Carlisle, Rickerby manor, and half the hamlet of Newbiggin in Croglin; and Robert his son, of full age, was his heir (*Cal. esch.*, 23 Ed. III., p. 150).

Walter Swetehop, rector of Scaleby, died in 1356, and Henry Martin, chaplain, was collated to the rectory (Nicolson and Burn). Henry Martin, by nuncupative will proved June 23rd, 1362, desired that his body should be buried in the choir of the church of All Saints, Scaleby (*Test. Karl.*, edit. Ferguson, p. 47), and John de Grandon was collated rector (Nicolson and Burn).

One-eighth part of the vill of Scaleby was held in capite by Margaret de Dacre, lady of Gilsland, in 1362-3 (*Cal. esch.*, 36 Ed. III., p. 249).

There is a memorandum that, on Monday before Palm Sunday, 1367, Sir Robert de Tilliolf, knight, made a conveyance to grantees of his land at Ireby (except the site of the manor house within the water ditches), the park of Torpenhow and his tenements at Newbiggin (Croglin) and in the suburb of Carlisle, in the street called Ricardgate, on condition that the grantees should re-enfeoff his wife Felicia of Ireby for her life, with remainder to his son and heir Peter in fee; and should re-enfeoff his son Geoffrey of the park of Torpenhow; and his son Roger of the tenements at Newbiggin and Carlisle. The grantees received seisin the same day, immediately before one o'clock, at a tenement near the said manor house, by verbal command of Sir Robert, receiving one penny by way of seisin; and, on the following Tuesday, received acknowledgment of most of the tenants of Ireby. Sir Robert died on the following night, between cockcrow and dawn, and the grantees subsequently carried out the re-enfeoffments (*Catalogue of*

Ancient Deeds, vol. iii., p. 544). Sir Robert died seised of the manor of Houghton, two parts of the manor of Scaleby, the hamlet of Etterby, the tenements at Carlisle, a suit of court at Irthington, and the manor of Rickerby (*Cal. esch.*, 41 Ed. III., p. 282). His son and heir, Peter, was an infant. By his will dated at Ireby, Monday, April 5th, 1367, he gave his body to be buried in the church of the friars preachers of Carlisle and appointed his wife Felicia executrix (*Test. Karl.*, p. 82). Alice de Perrers was granted wardship of all his lands held in chief and the heir's marriage (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 41 Ed. III., pp. 396, 397) and Felicia received as dower the water mill of Scaleby, worth £4, and the park of Scaleby, being part of the land in the king's hand by reason of the non-age of the heir (*Cal. Close Rolls*, of the same year, p. 354). She died in 1369 (*Cal. esch.*, 43 Ed. III., p. 299).

Peter, eldest son and heir of Robert, had come of age on October 14th, 1377, and it was ordered that he should have seisin of his father's land, held in chief (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1 Rich. II., p. 19). Peter was Knight of the Shire in 1378 and his arms are described in *Jenyns' Roll* as—*gules*, a lion rampant *argent* and a baston *azure* (Foster, *Some Feudal Coats*).

In 1380, Elias, rector of Scaleby, exchanged his living with Robert Cayllis, who was collated to the same (Nicolson and Burn).

Sir Peter de Tilliol married Elizabeth, daughter of William de Laton. She was alive on December 2nd, 1389 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 13 Rich. II., p. 163, Surtees, *Durham*, I., 215).

On February 12th, 1400, John de Grisdale, parson of Scaleby, had exchanged his benefice with Alan de Kirkbride, with the approval of the Keeper of Spirituality, the see of Carlisle being then vacant (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1 Hen. IV., pp. 196 and 240).

Sir Peter died January 2nd, 1434-5. It was found by

inquisition that he had Hayton manor in Aspatria; Scaleby Castle and Houghton manor; Ricardby, held as of the manor of Linstock; and four messuages at Carlisle. His son and heir, Robert, was an idiot (*Cal. esch.*, 13 Hen. VI., p. 159). Robert died in the following November, and his sisters, Isabel and Margaret, succeeded as co-heiresses to the manor of Scaleby and its appurtenances (*ibid.*, 14 Hen. VI., p. 164). John Denton, the historian, alleges (*Accompt*, edit. Ferguson, p. 154) that Sir Peter acquired Hayton by his marriage with a daughter of Robert de Mulcaster. An examination of the pedigree given in Surtees' *Durham* makes it incredible that Sir Peter's children, born late in his life, were issue of his marriage with Elizabeth de Laton.

The description of the portion of the manor held of the barony of Gilsland is perplexing. In 1485, a moiety of Scaleby was held by the heirs of Sir Peter de Tilliol, free tenants of Humphrey de Dacre, lord of Gilsland (*Cal. inq. p. m.*, 1 Hen. VII., p. 69). One gathers that the chief manor of Scaleby had, from time out of mind, been divided into moieties—one held by the elder branch of the Tilliols; the other held by the lord of Gilsland, but granted, as a mesne manor, to the younger branch, one of whom, Robert, was of sufficient *status* to be excused service as sheriff, but the mesne manor appears to have been subsequently inherited by the elder branch which held the other moiety *in capite*.

The church tower is a pele, measuring 18 feet square externally, and its walls are four feet thick. A low narrow door, at the west end of the nave, gives access to the lowest storey of the tower, which is lighted by very narrow loop-holes, more than seven feet above the ground. There are no steps leading from the ground level to the second storey, which has loopholes and a small aperture towards the nave. The third storey was formerly the bell chamber, but the two bells are now

hung in the fourth storey, added in 1828. The tenor bell inscribed *Ave Maria gracia plena, dns. tecum,* may be of 14th or 15th century workmanship. The treble, of rude design and without inscription, is perhaps of older date (these *Transactions,* O.S. vii., p. 231).

PEDIGREE OF TILLIOL.

RICHARD RIDERE,
tenant in chief of Henry I.

PETER DE TILLIOL,
in possession of his grandfather's land, 1158.
d. 1183.

SIMON, dead in 1204.

PETER, = MARY.
d. 1246.

GEOFFREY,
d. 1295.

ROBERT, = MATILDA,
d. 1321. dau. of Roger de Lascelles, and widow of William de Hilton, d. 1343.

SIR PETER DE TILLIOL, Kt. = ISABEL,
d. 1349. mentioned, 1328.

SIR ROBERT DE TILLIOL, Kt. = FELICIA.
d. 1367.

SIR PETER DE TILLIOL, Kt. = (1) ELIZABETH, dau. of William de Laton, mentioned 1389. = (2) a daughter of Robert de Mulcaster of Hayton.
of age 1377, d. 1434-5.

ROBERT, an idiot, d. 1435. | ISABEL. | MARGARET.

Art. X.—*Fountains Abbey and Cumberland.* By W. P. Haskett-Smith.

Read at Carlisle, September 1st, 1920.

SOME of the earliest history we have for the country round Keswick is contained in the charters of Fountains Abbey. These are by no means complete. The fragments at Studley have been printed and others are in private hands, but all that most concerns our present purpose is to be seen in a stout MS. volume in the Cotton Library, fuller and more accurate than the Earl of Denbigh's MS., which is valuable as a catalogue but seldom gives more of a document than is just sufficient to identify it. The Cotton MS. is often difficult to decipher owing to the edges having been worn and also shrivelled by heat. An excellent edition of these charters by Mr. W. T. Lancaster, F.S.A. (privately printed, Leeds, 1915) did not come under my eye until my own notes were completed, but it has been a great advantage to check my readings against his.

In the time of King John, Aelicia Pipard, better known by the surname of her grandfather De Rumeli, owned practically the whole basin of Derwentwater down to the head of Bassenthwaite and bestowed, roughly speaking, all south of Derwentwater on Furness Abbey and the rest on Fountains, consisting mainly of Watendlath on the hill and of the flat land between the two lakes. These lakes were no doubt originally one, until severed by the vast deposits made by the rivers draining the west side of Helvellyn and the south side of Saddleback and the severance had already been effected before the arrival of the Romans ; but then and long after the land formed between was much narrower and much less solid, so that water and marsh occupied most of the space,

leaving a mere strip of firm ground along the north shore of Derwentwater. We may fairly assume that when these charters describe an "altum chiminum" and a "magnum chiminum" proceeding from Crosthwaite, one along the slopes of Skiddaw to the east of Bassenthwaite lake and one along the foot of Derwentwater over a "pons petrae" to the foot of Whinlatter, we have traces of Roman work. Moreover they show that the latter road was carried on an embankment which held back the drainage of the Newlands valley and ultimately formed a considerable lake known as Husaker Tern. When at length this lake was drained we may suggest that the bed of it provided those "new lands" from which the valley derives its present name. The old name of the tarn is seen in the farm of Uzzicar.

These old deeds thus preserve evidence of topographical changes and still more frequently they shew us changes that have taken place in language. For instance on Hutton Moor is a Farmer Sike which looks a commonplace name enough, similar to many others recording "shepherds" and "hunters," but when we find in an early deed that close to it was a Nirmersike it at once occurs to us that we may have here two instances of that rare comparative form in -mer (seen in "former") and that they mean simply "farther" and "nearer."

The following words and names are noticeable :—

Advenam seems to be the same word which frequently occurs as avenam, ovenam, afnam and ofnam, the m being part of the word itself and not a mere case-ending. It seems to mean "off-take" and perhaps describes a piece of land chosen before a general division.

Bastunwater, in a charter of Benedict de Apelthwait of about 1220, like Bastenthwaite etc. for Bassenthwaite (Sedgefield, *Place-names of C. & W.*, p. 11) points to an original personal name, probably Norse because compounded with the Norse word "thwaite."

Borghra is, I am told, not the same word as the Borgerha of the other Borrowdale in Dunnerdale. It was in the flat ground near Lodore at the mouth of Borrowdale. The context seems to demand a stream, which can hardly be other than the Derwent, *borgar-á*, the river of the fort, i.e. Castle Crag.

Cauce, Chauce, Chauchey, Chause, Chaushe usually with "Le" prefixed is constantly mentioned as near Braithwaite and may have been the causeway of the great road from Portinscale or a dam expressly formed to complete Hosacre Tarn. It is the Latin *calciata* which expresses either and in some way originated the name of Causey Pike. There was also a Cauce near Esk Hause, and an ancient causeway-path is traceable from Seathwaite to near the summit of the pass.

Felebricge near Threlkeld looks like "plank-bridge" (A.-Sax. *thille*, Icel. *thilja*). Compare Felbrigg in Norfolk with Felbridge in Sussex and Thelbridge in Devon, and note that the shafts of a cart are called "thills" and these appear as "fills" in Shakespeare and some dialects.

Gillenukelstagge, Gillunkel, Selluncle; all these seem to be misreadings of Gille-mikel or Gille michghele containing the common personal name Gille-Michael analogous to Gil-christ, Gil-martin, Gil-mour.

Glenermerghe, now Glaramara, tentatively explained by Mr. Collingwood as Glever-merhe, or cliff-boundary.

Laterhayheved, Latehahafelde, Letterayheved is mentioned as near Skithou and is probably now Latrigg.

Losaikes should perhaps be read Lesaikes as it seems to be the present Lyzzick, and is called Lesakes in the Close Roll of 1343.

Northmethwait, Normesthwait, Northmanthwait, Normanthwait. If Northme be the true form for which the more familiar Northman was substituted it might be another comparative in -mer. But Northman, Norman, was

frequently used as a personal name in the 12th and 13th centuries.

Portwinescales, Porvynscale, Porcqueschal, Portquenescales. The last form must be the original and upsets Prof. Sedgefield's derivation from an imaginary person called Pearta, pointing strongly to Sax. "port-cwene" and Icel. "port-kona," i.e. "the town-women's huts."

Pyrnebemsyke, Prumebemsyke near and east of Bastinwater looks somewhat like Byrmebem the old name of Brimham, but if P is the true initial we are reminded of the local word pern = shrivel; a tree blasted by lightning or otherwise withered being very commonly used as a landmark. *P*, however, may be for the Runic *th*, making "thorn-tree-syke."

Ranthecokke ridding (*Fanthecokke* in the Denbigh MS.) suggests Rauthecok, i.e. "red cock-clearing." Would this be red grouse? Or was it the nickname of a man?

St. John's House in Threlkeld.

Satmerdoc, Satmyrthac now Setmurthy.

Scippelendig which the editor tells me must be "ship-landing" is curiously used. A grantor undertakes that if the acreage is short "totum reddam in S.," apparently "will make it good"; but was the shiplanding a spot or an event? *Cf.* Landing, at the foot of Windermere, and Nichol-end or Nichol-landing at Fawe park on Derwentwater.

Skythou, Skiddehawe is given as near Applethwaite and can be nothing but Skiddaw, about which some doubt has hitherto been felt.

Spon How, an assart near Crosthwaite, suggests that Spoony Green represents Spoonah Green for Spoon How Green, possibly containing the Icel. word for chips and therefore not very different from Tendre-acre (Fuel-field) which also occurs near.

Thrailkeld, Therllekeld, Therhkerld, suggests a spring

tapped by boring rather than a spring frequented by thralls.

Waterhuches, Watrehoses, Watrehuthes. The position of these is not defined. Can they have been "hutches" for captive fish? or were they similar to the "water-houses" mentioned in the Inq. p. m. of Sir Thomas de Derwentwater, 1302-3?

They can hardly have been on any of the larger lakes; for in 1343 they are given in a list of fisheries belonging to the lords of Cockermouth, including Derewentwatre, Bastenwatre, Crombokwatre, Buttermere, Lousewatre, Flutern, Brathemyre, Watrehoses, Husacretern, &c.

These charters do us a service with regard to the word "escalinge" which many good paleographers have read as "estalinge"; for in one place they spell it "Eskalinges" thus placing the sound beyond doubt.

It would be interesting if we could locate Cald- (or Eald-) cloue, where the abbey acquired land as a halting place for their cattledroves. One would like to trace their route.

Before we quit the monks and the history of their acquisitions of land it may be well to get an idea of the relative importance of their estates. This we gather from the incomes of 1456 when "Crostwat" produced £15 10s. 0d., "Stangwat" and "Watenland" £17 6s. 10d., "Espnes" £2, and "Cokyrmouth" only a shilling.

From a Fine of 1195 dealing with Rumili land north-west of that granted to Fountains we gather some curious names. It was printed years ago by Hunter, who, however, missed one or two important words which are given below in italics. Unfortunately the lower lefthand corner has been torn off and so from the later lines more and more of the beginning is wholly lost.

The places mentioned are:—"pasturam apud Wizope sicut *Riu . . s fori'*" and as boundaries "Ad Kirkefen. In Saluneis et flumine. In Olebec. De Olebec aut' usque

Oustwibec" (then along the edge of the moss) "et de Estwibec (along edge of moss) usque ad summitatem de Loftweic et de Loftwic usque ad capud de Rutenbec et de Rutenbec ad Dubbes et sicut Dubbes *fluunt in Bastun.*" "The men of Kokmue, Lorenton, Oustwic and Satmdac; the wood which lies to the road between Kokmue and Lorenton from Cruce Sundwize as far as Kokmue; pasture for 60 cows in Dochora and joint pasture with the men of Caudebec."

Our word "along" is here rather unusually expressed by the Latin proposition "in."

The gist of this document is that one Orm, having some sort of claim to Wythope, is being bought off by the grant of pasture rights on the fells sloping up east and south from Embleton with some privileges in a wood between it and Cockermouth. Norman scribes found great difficulty in H, TH, and W, and usually ignored the first, expressing TH (hard) by F or S, TH (soft) by Z, and W by O or OU. We should therefore expect modern forms resembling *Withope, Holebeck,* east and west *Wibech, Cokmouth, West Wick* and *Dockwra.*

Now as most of these names can be matched near the north end of the Whinlatter range which flanks Bassenthwaite Water on the west we may safely assume that the west side of the last knob of this range is the part chiefly dealt with. In those days it had water on two sides of it, for the sinking of the level of the lake has since withdrawn a short and shallow westward arm then called *Dubs,* now visible only in floodtime. Some trace of this creek still exists in the old Cockermouth road, which could not always cross it as now at *Dub Wath,* but turned along the south bank. The base of the little triangle was the Kelswick depression, while the ridge is cut about midway by a dip from which *Routen Beck* flows north and *Lothwaite* descends towards the lake. It appears from this early form that *Lothwaite* was once

Loft-thwaite which, in view of *Loft-barrow* elsewhere, is not unlikely. As *Sale Fell* is close by, it may seem that *Saluneis* preserves the name of the whole promontory or of its pointed west end, *Sale How Ness*, (for "how" may drop to "u" as it must have done in *Silf-how-Cove* in Ennerdale, which became *Silfucov* and is now *Silver Cove*).

But on the whole it is more likely that these boundaries started near Lorton, that Kirkfen has some relation to Kirkfell, that Saluneis was a northerly ridge, that West and East Wibec are the two main streams draining Wythop Moss, that Loftwic was the cartroad which still leads, passing between Kelswick and Wythop Hall, up to the col overlooking Lothwaite, after which the line turned sharp to the left for Routenbeck and so to Dubs and the lake.

In passing we may note that the only three ways of leaving the manor house were marked by the same termination, West-wick, Kels-wick, Loft-wick and the fact that Keswick sprang up beside a very ancient road may explain its final syllable more satisfactorily than some theories that have been put forward.

On the Lorton side of Wythop Fells is a stream called Whit- or Wythe-beck, suggesting that the original names may be east and west *Wythe Beck* flowing down from *Wythe-Hope*. The *Old Bec* given in our document would probably be *Hole Beck*.

Of the other names *Satmrdac* is of course the old form of Setmurthy, *Lorenton* is Lorton, but there is no Dockwray nearer than Lamplugh Fells to represent *Dochora* and *Cruce Sundwize* must be somewhere along the Cockermouth road.

The cross may possibly have stood on the Cockermouth road where the way to Southwaite turns off.

There is now no Wick about here except Kelswick, which, however, may then have had another Wick to the east or west of it.

ART. XI.—*Thirteenth-century Keswick.* By. W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A., F.S.A.

KESWICK is only once mentioned in the Fountains Charters; but as the name nowadays suggests a definite part of the Lake District, it may serve to indicate the neighbourhood described in those documents. As they give much information about its history in the 13th century, these notes are offered to supplement Mr. Haskett-Smith's article, treating the material from another point of view.

CROSTHWAITE.

About 1180 Jocelin of Furness, writing on St. Kentigern, said that a church had recently been built at Crosfeld (Crosthwaite) and dedicated to that Saint. The poet Southey inferred that it was built by Alice de Rumelli; and this is no doubt the fact, although there may have been a previous church at the place. Chancellor Prescott shewed (*Wetherhal*, 501), from the confirmation by Richard Coeur-de-Leon, that it was in the first widowhood of Alice de Rumelli II. that she gave the advowson to Fountains (Lancaster, *Fountains Chartulary*, p. 199); the period, corrected by Canon Wilson (*St. Bees Reg.*, 449) was 1192-95. Fountains charter no. 65 seems, by its witnesses, to be a repetition of the grant during her second widowhood, 1210-16. In this period she gave the abbey also half the vill and mill (no. 1); the other half, which was in her demesne, she granted to Reginald the clerk de Burnebusk (nos. 39, 28) who granted it to the abbey, c. 1212 (*Fount. Chart.*, p. 199) and Alice de Rumelli confirmed his grant, giving somewhat later *all* the vill with the advowson to Fountains (no. 65) and the advowson with her body to be buried at the abbey (no. 66).

An early rector had been Henry de Curtenay, perhaps

a relative of Robert de Curtenay, second husband of Alice. Henry, in 1227, at Woburn abbey, where he had apparently retired, quitclaimed the church to Fountains (no. 68) and about the same time Mr. Gervase de Louther, Official of Carlisle (he was Official 1225-28) certified that he had put Fountains in possession of the church and of a pension of 5 marks which Henry de Curtenay had held "nomine personatus."

About 1210 the rector was Adam de Crosthwaite, Alice de Rumelli's "man" or retainer, who then released to Furness the tithes of Borrowdale (*Furness Coucher* ii., ed. Brownbill, 578). He held the advowson for some time after she had granted it—or the reversion of it—to Fountains, and there is more to say about him personally, later on. Meanwhile, her grant was confirmed by Bernard, Bishop of Carlisle (1204-15) on the understanding that Fountains should pay 100s. yearly to the vicar presented by the abbey. Further confirmations were made by bishop Hugh (1218-23), by Bartholomew, prior of Carlisle, c. 1220, and by bishop Walter Malclerk, c. 1227.

The vicar in the period (when Gervase de Louther was Official, 1225-28) was Al[an]. He must have been nominated by Adam de Crosthwaite, for a deed by the bishop states that he instituted and inducted Fountains to the church of Crostwait "saving to Adam for life the vicariate" (i.e. right to nominate a vicar). At the time of Adam's death the vicar was Mr. Hugh de Roheuel (nos. 17, 34), or Roh—s (Cotton MS.). It must have been after Adam's death that the deed was made "at Bewley, Thursday before St. George, 1250," by bishop Silvester confirming Croswath church to Fountains on those terms:—the vicars to have the messuage which formerly belonged to the rectors (the "capital messuage" of no. 3*a*) with altarage, tithes of mills other than the abbey's mill, of hay, lambs, wool, pigs, flax (calves?) geese and garden fowls; and oblations, tithes, mortuaries

and legacies—saving to Fountains the small tithes, also tithes of sheaves, vegetables in the fields, and ferms of lands held from the church, and 10 marks *per annum*: the vicars to bear all ordinary burdens. This was confirmed by Robert, prior, and the convent of Carlisle in 1251.

About the same time Stephen, abbot, and the convent of Fountains granted the advowson of the vicariate to the bishop of Carlisle; but the church remained with the abbey, for at Linstock, July 7, 1283, bishop Ralph de Ireton confirmed an agreement between the abbey and William de Sevenac', perpetual vicar of Crossethwayth, by which the vicar was to have an acre to the south of his messuage, tithes of sheaves and garden produce, and of wages of abbey servants in the parish; the abbey to pay half the cost of repairing the roof when needed. The vicar remitted his claim to the messuage which used to belong to the rector, and to expenses in the suit and roofing of the chancel, etc. Later confirmations of these articles follow.

To return to Adam f. Adam de Crosthwaite. Some time between 1210 and 1216 Alice de Rumelli granted him one quarter of the land of Crostwait, saving pannage for the pigs of his tenants (no. 2). This quarter she granted to the abbey in no. 54; but in 1225-28 Fountains confirmed to him for his life ¼ of the manor, with capital messuage, buildings and gardens and ¼ of the mill (no. 3*a*). At Easter 1235 he recognised the right of the abbey in his quarter of Crosthwaite (no. 3*b*) and at the same date quitclaimed it to the monks, with his body to be buried at Fountains (no. 4). But he lived considerably longer for on Oct. 9, 1246, he and the abbot agreed with Thomas de Louthir and Peter de Aynecurt* about a grant to the

* T. de Louthir and Rad. de Aynecurt were coheirs, representing Beatrice and Amicia, the daughters and co-heiresses of William (son of William, who held *temp.* Henry III.). No 38 shows Peter de Ayncurt and his wife Amicia in 1256. (Note by Mr. Haskett-Smith.)

abbey of two cultures in Croswayth called Bracaneng and Brigholm (Brigham), which the monks were not to improve or build upon without consent from Thomas and Peter (no. 37). Other portions of his property were 4 acres in Langrig and Litlerig which he granted to Fountains (no. 5) and other land in Little Crosthwaite noticed below.

In 1220 Adam had become Official of Carlisle. Chancellor Prescott doubted whether he was not the same person with Adam de Kirkby, Official (these *Trans.*, N.S. xi., 108) but these charters nos. 11 and 13 are witnessed by both Adams at the same time.

As to his family:—Adam the rector had a brother Hudard (no. 44) or Udard, who c. 1210 acquired land at Langfit in Embleton from John f. Thomas de Ireby (Wilson, *St. Bees*, 571). Adam's son Adam witnessed with him the deed of bishop Bernard (1204-15) already mentioned, and his son William witnessed with him no. 47, c. 1225. At his death, c. 1250, he was survived by his widow, Ysouda de Cokerham, and three children, Thomas, William and Galiena. Fountains granted to her and to Thomas a toft and croft of three acres in Croswayth formerly held by Adam the reeve; after which she granted it to Thomas and he granted it back to Fountains (nos. 6, 7, 8). William de Crostwait of Brigholm is named in no. 25, c. 1285, and in no. 26, 1290; but not as definitely connected with the de Crosthwaites. No. 53 (c. 1235) mentions the dam of the mill of Crosthwayt upon William's "land of *Kesewic*," the earliest occurrence of the name. It does not suggest that there was any village or hamlet at the place, which was certainly not upon the lake-shore but on the river-bank. It cannot therefore be the Norse *vík* or creek, as Prof. Sedgefield suggests (*Place-names of C. & W.*, 69), but is more likely the English *cese-wīc*, "cheese-house."

The name of Cockerham appears again hereabouts, for

Adam the rector granted the land which William the fisher held of him, and himself held from Fountains, between Pyrnebemsyke and Heselrigbek which falls into Bastanwater (Bassenthwaite lake), in Little Crosthwaite, at 6d. rent to Alexander de Nortmannesthwayt (nos. 31, 32). Now Normanthwaite was near Portinscale (no. 18); and Alexander's wife was Matilda, daughter of Adam de Cokerham (no. 30). It looks as though Ysouda and Matilda were related.

After Adam the rector's death, Alexander quitclaimed this land to Fountains (no. 32, c. 1250), and he and his wife also granted (no. 30, c. 1252; one of the witnesses being William de Salecoc, sheriff) their land in Escaling[es] between Laterayheved (Latrigg head) and Skythou (Skiddaw) on the east beside the land called Gillemikelstagge (Gillemichael's *tēag*, enclosure?) except one acre on Scortemiddeltunge. One is tempted to connect this and other notices of early "acres," i.e. ploughed land, on the flanks of Skiddaw with the cultivation-terraces still traceable above Applethwaite; remembering that the flats were then marsh, and any crops must have been raised on the higher ground.

Adjacent land had been granted to Alexander's father Huctred f. Richard de Normanthwaite by Christiana de Threpeland, widow, daughter of Adam de Bastenthwaite —namely, land in Apellthait and Crostwait, in Langrig, Littelrig, Kete[l]scalerig and Strandes (so, not Strindes, in the Cotton MS.), and this was given in 1268 by Alexander to Fountains (nos. 48, 49). Huctred's wife was Agnes, whose dower land in Normantweyt was given to his son William, with remainder to his son Thomas in 1260-1 (no. 33, dated by Sir Robert de Mulcaster, sheriff) for a rent of one clove and a yearly payment of 6d. to the abbey. We thus get a pedigree—Richard, father of Huctred de Normanthwaite, whose wife's name was Agnes. Huctred and she were the parents of Alexander (1235-

1268) who married Matilda f. Adam de Cokerham, possibly sister to Ysouda wife of Adam f. Adam de Crosthwaite and mother of Adam, Thomas, William and Galiena de Crosthwaite (the last three living in 1250) who would be cousins of William and Thomas de Normanthwaite (living 1260).

Bassenthwaite.

Christiana* de Threpeland, named above, gave to Fountains, in 1225, three roods in Apelthwayt, beside the stream Ketelscalerbech, and her meadow by the stream Holebech in Lairwatmire (no. 47); and a little later, all her land in Apelthait and Crosthwait, namely in Langrig, Littelrig, Ketlescalerig and Strandes (no. 46). In the first she calls herself daughter of Adam de Bastunthuait, who was probably the one mentioned in a 12th century charter of St. Bees (ed. Wilson, p. 551), and perhaps son or grandson of Gospatrick (illegitimate son of Waldeve of Allerdale, son of earl Gospatrick) to whom the *Chronicon Cumbrie* says that Bolton, Bassenthwaite and Hestholm (for which see below) were given. Christiana's husband, apparently alive in 1225 but dead before her second grant, may have been Adam de Threpeland (Wilson, *St. Bees*, 537).

Contemporary with her, and witness to her charters, was Robert (f. Adam) de Bastanthwait, no doubt her brother, who married Godith f. Richard f. John de Punsunby, and witnessed nos. 2, 5, 9*a* and 18, from c. 1210 to c. 1230 or later. An Elena de Bastenthwaite occurs in the Pipe Roll of 1235-6.

Somewhat later Adam II. de Bastenthwaite gave to the abbey (nos. 42 *a* and *b*) Walle f. Michael de Waterhuches or Waterhuthes, with his family and chattels.

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* Perhaps goddaughter, Mr. Haskett-Smith suggests, of Christiana, wife of Duncan de Lascelles, who in 1208 sued the Abbot of Geddeworth (Jedburgh) for the advowson of Bastenthwaite, and appears later (see under "Hestholm") in connexion with this district.

Adam II. witnessed nos. 7, 32 and 33, c. 1250 and in 1260.

Gilbert de Baystan[thwait?] witnessed no. 62, of about the middle of the 13th century; possibly a brother of Adam II. The son of Adam II. was Alexander, an important personage from 1290 and governor of Cockermouth castle in 1317. His quitclaim of Hestholm, dated at Bastenthwayt, Wednesday after St. Nicholas, 1327 (no. 64) is the latest date we have for him.

His son, Adam III., witnessed no. 71 in 1350. His will of 1358 is given in *Testamenta Karleolensia*. With his two daughters the family name ended, and the manor was broken up into High and Low Bassenthwaite.

Applethwaite.

In the Pipe Rolls it is recorded that Beatrice f. Alexander in 1222 owed half a mark for bail out of Carlisle prison, where she had been under the charge of killing William de Applethwaite. In 1220-21 two grants were made for the soul of William de Applethwaite; Adam, his brother, gave half of his land in Eskalings of Apelthwayt towards the east, given him by William, between the two sikes as far as Withebeck from the lane to Therhekelde (no. 44) and Benedict f. William de Applethwaite granted all his land in Little Crosthwait, between the two sikes next the house of Thomas Belle towards the east as they descend from the highway into Bastunwater, for the soul of his brother William, his parents and heirs (no. 11).

Adam at the same time (with the same witnesses) gave the other half of his land in Eskalinges towards the west, besides the land formerly Gillemichghelstagh (no. 45).

Benedict at the same period (no. 13) granted an acre beside the house of Michael towards the east and half an acre in Losaikes (Lyzzick), both in Little Crosthwait; and a rood where Peter the fisher dwelt and an acre in Hesilrydding and Rauthecokkeridding, also in Little

Crosthwaite (no. 14), adding—" and if there is a deficiency in the acre in these two places he will make it up at Scippelending. He has also given a little piece of land between the alder wood and Stalwrthemanridding." In no. 15 of the same date he granted a toft in Little Crosthwait which William Kitteman held. The acre beside Michael's house and the half-acre in Losaikes were promptly let by the abbey to Samuel the chaplain of Satmerdoc (Setmurthy) for 6d. a year (no. 16); and his son Hugh granted the property to the abbey about the middle of the thirteenth century (no. 17).

The essart called Le Scales in Appeltwayt, between Skiddehawe and Laterhayhefed, had been granted by Adam, Benedict's brother, to Walter de Griselay and Beatrice his wife, who at Carlisle assizes, Whitsuntide, 1256, quitclaimed the land to Fountains (no. 50). Some curious story seems to lurk behind these bald entries of ancient Applethwaite.

Threlkeld.

About 1220-30 Randulf f. Ivo de Therlekelde gave the abbey 3½ acres in Therllekelde between his own house and the house of St. John (St. John's in the Vale) in the culture called Walt[er]apelgard towards the north, and all his meadow near Felebricge (no. 9*a*). The same was quitclaimed to Fountains by Henry de Threlkelde about the middle of the thirteenth century (no. 10). To this last deed Huctred and John de Threlkelde were witnesses: Huctred again in 1256 (no. 38). Henry witnessed nos. 45 (1225-34), 7, 10, 30 and 60 (in or about 1252) and 38 and 50 (dated 1256).

To deeds of c. 1285 (nos. 24 and 25) and of 1290 (no. 26) William de Threlkeld witnessed.

Ralph, chaplain of Thrailkelde, witnessed no. 3*a*, dated by Gervase de Louther, Official, 1225-28.

Castlerigg and De Derwentwater.

Notices of the early de Derwentwaters by Mr. W. N. Thompson (these *Trans.* N.S., iv., 288) can be supplemented from these charters. The earliest, omitting Odard f. Liolf of the *Chronicon Cumbrie*, was William, father of Adam I. Adam f. William, not described as "de Derwentwater" but pretty certainly of the family, witnessed Alice de Rumelli's nos. 29, 54, 56 of about 1210. In no. 51, of nearly the same date, he began to sign as Adam f. William de Derwentwater, giving the approximate date of William's death.

Adam I. in no. 51 granted Espenese in Castelrig to Fountains, and he continued to sign as plain Adam f. William de Derwentwater in nos. 2, 5, 9*a*, 11 to 16, 18, 20, 44, 47, 70 and 74, dating from 1210 or a little later to 1225. He is "Sir Adam" in nos. 46 and 48 of 1225 or a little later. He lived up to or nearly to 1234 (Wilson, *St. Bees*, 401).

Gervase brother of Adam witnessed Adam's grant to Fountains of free transit through his land, 1210-15 (no. 58).

William f. Adam de Derwentwater was under age in 1234 (Wilson, *St. Bees*, 401). It must have been soon afterwards that Fountains agreed to restore Espenes to him, for 2s. a year (no. 53). He witnessed nos. 32 and 69, both c. 1250, as plain William de Derwentwater; but c. 1252 (nos. 60, 61) he was "Sir William." In the Pipe Roll for 1259-60 Juliana was his widow.

Thomas de Derwentwater witnessed no. 49, dated 1268, by the sheriff as witness, and no. 22, rather later. In 1276 he was still plain Thomas in his market charter (these *Trans.* N.S., iv., 289), but he had been knighted before 1285 (Prescott, *Wetherhal*, 353) and signs "Sir Thomas" to no. 26, dated 1290, as well as to nos. 23 to 25, about 1285. He died in 1302-3, leaving a son John

"aged 30(?) years or more" (*Inq. p. m.*) and is not mentioned in the Fountains charters.

Sir John II. witnessed Sir Alexander de Moubray's deed no. 63, dated 1327. In 1338-9, he appears to have had a son and heir Thomas, not named in the Fountains charters; but no. 71, dated Michaelmas 1351, is witnessed by John de Derwentwater, kt. For the difficulty about the succession at this period see these *Trans.* N.S., iv., 296-7; but the earlier members of the family seem to be elucidated by these charters.

Braithwaite.

In the period 1210-16 Alice de Rumelli granted (no. 18) to Nicholas de Linford (a place in Craven, connected with Fountains) land called Pikerig and Fisgardheved in Braithait within these bounds:—from Porqenschal to the stone bridge on the land of Thomas beside the great marsh; thence as the marsh extends to the Derewente and, as the river descends, to the fosse which descends into the D[er]ewente upon Ruchcroft; thence to the fence of William Fraunceais, and as the fence extends by the bounds of Ruchcroft towards the west as far as the marsh, and as the marsh extends to the highroad of Portqenschal. Also the land which was Gilbert the serjeant's beside the water of Huseker (? Newlands beck, which runs past Uzzicar) within these bounds:—as the highroad extends from the *advena* (or *advenam*; see the preceding article; perhaps the sike which runs diagonally from Braithwaite bridges to Powbeck) to the water of Huseker; as that water descends to the field upon Nordmanthait (? the site now called Bog), to the great marsh; by the middle of that marsh as far as the *advena* and so by the *advena* to the said road: with common of pasture of B[r]aithuait and of Por[tqueneschal] and of Husaker with the canons of Bolton: rendering a pound of pepper yearly at Carlisle fair. This property was

granted later by William del Heyle to Agnes de Ponte (no. 22).

Braithwaite mill was granted to Fountains in her widowhood by Alice de Rumelli, " the men of Bratheweit to maintain the mill, taking wood in her forest to repair it; and to grind there only" (no. 28). In no. 29 she granted her body to be buried at Fountains and the mill of Bratheweit and the land of Nicholas de Bratheweit.

This Nicholas (the spelling of c. 1220 in no. 44, " de Bradthwait" fixes the meaning of the place-name) occurs from 1211 to about 1225 (nos. 11, 13 to 16, 20, 44, 51, 58 and 74). His two sons, William and Robert, are named in nos. 11, 13 to 15, and 44. In no. 20 he granted arable land in Braythaith beside le Chauche (the causey) and (the essart?) of Gilbert (perhaps the serjeant mentioned above) and an acre of meadow to be chosen by the monks.

Helyas de Braithwaite is named in no. 31, before 1250.

About 1230 Nicholas de Linford, above mentioned, allowed the monks to establish the dam of their mill of Crosthwait and their fishery in the Derewente, namely from the great marsh between the land of Thomas le Blunde and the land of Robert (t. Nicholas) along the Derewente to the fosse between his land and that of William le Fraunceis (no. 19).

William le Fraunceis witnessed nos. 18 and 74 (1211 and thereabouts). Nicholas Franciscus or le Fraunceys occurs in nos. 7, 17, 19, 31, 32 to 35, 38, 42*a* and 50, ranging from about 1230 to 1260. Robert appears in nos. 23, 25 and 26, from about 1280 to 1290*. None of these is named " Francigena" like John f. Hugh, rector of Caldbeck in the time of this Nicholas (see Prescott, *Wetherhal*, 385).

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* He is mentioned also in the Assize Roll, 1291; so also are Adam le Engleys and Robert f. Robert del How, who then held land previously held by Elias del How in Braithwaite (Note by Mr. Haskett-Smith).

There was also a contemporary family of Lengleys or Anglicus, not included in the Rev. F. W. Ragg's Lengleys of Asby, etc. (these *Trans.* N.S., xx., 66). They seem to have been of Thornthwaite, by no. 57, which being before the death of Sir Thomas f. William de Graystoke and after the accession of William de Derwentwater must date 1240 to 1247. In this the abbey granted that Patrick f. Thomas (de Culwen) of Wirkyngton may have a chapel and chaplain in Thornewayth, under Croswaith as mother church, paying 2s. a year from the annual ferm payable to Patrick by William Anglicus. This is interesting as giving a date for Thornthwaite chapel. William Lengleys, in nos. 9, 19, 36, 46 to 48, and 57, dates between 1225 and towards 1247. Richard, in nos. 17 and 34, lived about 1250 ; he seems to have been the younger brother of Nicholas, who flourished c. 1250 to c. 1275 (nos. 7, 8, 17, 22, 32, 34, 35, 38, 42*a* and 50). Adam, in nos. 25 and 26, dates c. 1285 to 1290.

A neighbour, Walter del Haw or de le How (How on the Derwent, north of Portinscale) appears in nos. 23 and 24, c. 1280 and c. 1285.

Henry de Hulveleyc, in no. 10, c. 1250, may have been of Ullock, south-west of Portinscale.

Nicholas de Husegre or Husaker (Uzzicar) lived c. 1275 (no. 22). William de Hu[sa]ker dates c. 1285 (no. 25).

Thomas "Lebunt" (le Blunt) of Huseker granted an acre in Ragarhheved (Rae-garth-head?) next the bridge of Derwent some time before 1250 (no. 36). The le Blunts or le Blonds are known elsewhere ; here we find three of the name—Thomas, who witnessed in 1211 and later (nos. 5, 51, 56 and 74) ; his land is mentioned in no. 19, of 1228-34, and before 1250 he had sold land to Benedict the smith in Portinscales (no. 34) :—William, from c. 1230 to 1256 (nos. 7, 17, 19, 32, 38 and 50) ;—and his brother Robert, c. 1250 (no. 32).

The last family of importance as property owners

hereabouts is De Insula or Lisle, also known elsewhere, and perhaps not resident at Braithwaite. Robert witnessed no. 37 in 1246 at Carlisle assizes. Nicholas received from Fountains, c. 1259, an acre of meadow in Cauce (the Causey) beside the meadow he already had, for 6d. a year at Carlisle fair, and in exchange for an acre in Crosthwayth called Godbrigholm (no. 21); and he witnessed nos. 24 and 25, c. 1285, the latter styling him bailiff of Cokermue.* There are three deeds of William f. William de Insula, nos. 23 to 25, of 1280-85; the first granting an acre of meadow in le Chaucey next the acre called Tendreacre towards the east; the second granting a meadow called Gylberiddingge (Gilbert ridding?) and an acre of meadow near the meadow of Nicholas de Insula to the south, in [Brayth]wath in a place called Chauze (Causey); and the third quitclaiming land and messuage in [Pikerig?] in Braythwayth. Agnes, daughter of William de Insula, widow, quitclaimed to the abbey for the souls of herself, her father and William her brother all lands, etc. that they had held in Braithwayth, dating at Carlisle (no. 26) and at Crosthwaite church (no. 27) in 1290. In 1327 John de Insula, perhaps the justice, witnessed Sir Alexander de Moubray's quitclaim of Hestholm (no. 63).

Hestholm (Derwent Island).

The *Chronicon Cumbrie* states that this island was given to Gospatrick f. Waldeve, ancestor of the family De Bastenthwaite. Alice de Rumelli granted it to Fountains, with free transit for their boat, along with the land of Adam de Crostheweit, before 1216 (no. 54*a*). Before the middle of the 13th century the abbey granted "Eastholm" to Thomas f. Duncan de Lasceles, as

* Mr. Haskett Smith notes that Nicholas de Insula, bailiff of the Countess of Albemarle, sued in 1291 for Senethwaite in Braithwaite; and probably the William "del Heyle" of no. 22, granting Pikerig, etc. to Agnes de Ponte, was a de Insula.

granted by Alice de Rumeli, for 2s. a year (no. 62). In 1327, Sir Alexander de Bastenthwaite at Bassenthwaite and Sir Alexander de Moubray at Bolton in Allerdale quitclaimed the island to the abbey, showing a connexion between Hestholm and the estate of Gospatrick f. Waldeve as stated above ; their charters are nos. 63 and 64. In 1539 Leland called it Vicar's Isle, being church property. After the Dissolution, in 1541, it was granted to John Williamson, who sold it in 1569 to the German miners (*Elizabethan Keswick*, p. 35).

Watendlath and Langstrath.

In 1210-13 Alice de Rumelli granted to Fountains Wattendelan (or Wattendelau) and Langestrohe (the *h* may be for the letter *thorn* as in other cases, making Langestrothe), "by their ancient and full bounds with wild beasts and birds of prey," with the advowson of Crosthwait, a messuage in Cockermouth and land in Crosthwait, both formerly belonging to Reginald the clerk of Burnebu[sk], for the support of their shepherds at Wattendelau and Langstro[t]he (nos. 55 and 56). These grants were confirmed by King John in 1213 (no. 73). No. 74 is the composition between Furness and Fountains about the bounds of Burghedale (Borrowdale), Wathenethendelau and Langestrodhe. "All the flats (*flateria*) from 'Esknese' beck where it falls into Derwentwater beneath the brow of the lower fell to the beck which runs down from Watendlath and falls into Borghra (explained on p. 154 as the Derwent) shall be common, in wood, pasture and other easements, to both houses." Then following the boundaries as in the duplicate printed in *Furness Coucher* ii., 576, and described in these *Trans.* N.S., xviii., 97. The long dispute which ensued, about the cow-pasture of Stonethwaite, is not recorded in the *Furness Coucher*, but it is given in the Fountains chartulary (nos. 75-84) because it was settled in 1304, after

the Chapter General of Citeaux had done its best in vain, by John de Kyrkeby, custodian of Cockermouth, and Edward I. in favour of Fountains.

ART. XII.—*Helton Flechan, Askham and Sandford of Askham.* By the REV. FREDERICK W. RAGG, M.A., F.R.Hist.Soc.

Communicated at Carlisle, September 1st, 1920.

PREVIOUS to the time of Edward I. there are few records that I have seen of Askham. A Robert Belle who belonged there withdrew from a prosecution case and paid accordingly in 1233 or 4 (*Pipe Rolls Cumb. and Westm.*, by Parker). Thomas the provost did the same in 1235 or 6.* In *Curia Regis roll* 162 of 1259 (43 Hen. III.), Margery, widow of Robert Taylboys, claimed there against Robert le Fraunceys (of Cliburn) one third of a messuage and of a carucate of land and 20 acres which were part of the marriage portion of the wife of Robert le Fraunceys, her daughter ; she claimed this as a widow's third and her claim extended to all land which her husband had owned. The Court settled that Margery should have her one third out of other lands of Robert Tailboys, and that the le Franceys marriage portion should be exempt from it. In 1278-9 (A.R. 981) Thomas de Helbeck was in possession (these *Trans.* N.S., xviii., 154-5). Hodgson says without giving authority, but is usually accurate, that he held the manor in exchange for others.† After his death it came to his daughter

* Mr. Dayrell Crackenthorpe tells me of a Robert de Askom acting as Sheriff in 1247. But I have not so far been able to see the Newbiggin documents which he wishes me to see.

† But Hodgson here may have generalized too much. According to *Inq. p. mortem* Robt. de Clifford 28 July 8 Edw. II. (1314) Robert gave to Sir Tho. de Hellebek reasonable sustenance for himself, one esquire, three grooms, three horses and two robes yearly befitting a knight and two saddles ; these were charged on the revenues of Winton. And Thomas de Hellebek gave to Robert de Clifford for this the manor and town of Soureby by Brough. This

Margaret and her husband Robert de Swinburne and to their son who died 1326. His son Thomas—*Inq. p. mortem* C. Edward II., File 96 (13)—was his heir.

But the Swinburnes were not the only owners there of manorial position or origin, and there had been some subdivision in inheritance; for in 1359 (*de Banco Roll* 400 of Mich., 33 Edward III., 159. d.) Robert Fraunceys de Clyburne petitioned against Hugh de Lowther, kt., for 7 messuages, 5 bovates and 15 acres of land, 2 acres of meadow and 6s. 8d. rents, which John Fraunceys of Clyburn gave to Robert son of John Fraunceys and Alice, daughter of Adam de Quytlawe, his wife, in frank marriage, which ought, he said, to have descended to him, grandson of these, but had been sold to Hugh de Lowther by John his father in spite of the entail. And it appears from a charter at Lowther that John Franceys granted to Hugh lord of Lowther profits from the lord's mill in 1341, viz.: six marks yearly, to be held under the chief lord, making Hugh direct owner of that portion; and in 1361 Hugh de Lowther handed over to his son Thomas part of this rent. And besides, Margaret de Boivill released to Thomas Lengleys, kt., of Helton all her rights in one moiety of the mill in 1357 and Sir Hugh de Lowther handed over

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manor Thomas had succeeded to as the heir of his father Robert de Hellebek, who had (F. of F. 19 Henry III, 1235) compelled John de Veteriponte to acknowledge it as his right; and arrangement was made by which it should be held as a portion of de Veteripont's fief. And Thomas de Hellebek (F. of F. 31 Edwd. I.—1303) had given it to his second wife, Agnes de Skreevyne, mentioned in a transcript of Dodsworth, vol. 70, p. 60. She was in court and consented to its going after her death to Robert de Clifford though it should have reverted to the heirs of Thomas, and gave fealty to de Clifford. Concerning sundry difficulties which occurred through the grant of Morville fiefs to Veteripont see the Concluding Observations at the end of this paper. Thomas de Hellebek held the right of presentation to St. Mary of Brough in 1303 (A.R. 990) In addition to the possessions mentioned as his (these *Transactions*, N.S. xviii., pp. 157 and 158), there was the Manor of Little Strickland (his and Avice's) which they transferred to William de Harcla (F. of F. 24 Edw. I.—1296), and Keldelyth &c. till 1292. The Hellebek shield is depicted in Dodsworth to accompany the agreement between Thomas and Robert de Clifford about Soureby-by-Brough.

to Sir Thomas Lengleys "deaux parties de la moitie" and the reversion of the third portion in 1355. These had belonged to Denton and Boivill (these *Trans.* N.S., xx., p. 83) and were sold to Sir T. Lengleys. So far as I can trace or conjecture these moieties had not been le Franceys property. One moiety remains in which this was probably included; this was the portion owned by the Swinburnes who leased the mill, or their part of it, to Thomas de Lowther and others in 1371. The lord's mill was not usually sold out or granted separately from the demesne but remained and went down by inheritance as part of it. Hence the state of division which the charters show points to partition amongst co-heiresses at a time of which no records remain.

In 1371 Sir Robert Swinburne (6. Oct.) granted a lease of the manor and mill and everything belonging to the manor, except wards, marriages, reliefs, escheats and the two woodlands Creskebogh and le Heyning, to Thomas de Lowther,* William Colynson and Richard Johnson as "fermours" for six years at a rent of 25 marks yearly; and in Lent 1372 granted to Thomas de Lowther a waste place in the village lying before the fronts of the messuages of Thomas and the messuage of Edmund de Sandford beginning at a wall which lay between these messuages and reaching to the cottage held by William de Preston, Sir Robert's tenant.† This is the first hint of the Sandford family being in Askham. Later in the same year there is an indenture between Sir Robert on the one part and William de Sandford the elder, clerk, William de Sandford the younger, Thomas Dawnay and Esmond [Edmond] de Sandford confirming to these an annual rent of £10 from his lands except those in Westmorland, which was to be held by them while his wife Joan lived.

* Younger son of Sir Hugh.

† This deed is followed by a renunciation of all claim to the "waste place"; hence the grant was complete transfer.

If this gets behind they may distrain; but on these conditions:—It is theirs so long as they hold the manor of Ascum * and do not lose it or any part of it by any action for dowry at the suit of Joan with the result of her obtaining execution, when their right would cease; also if she impleads them "per breve de dote" (by writ for dowry) and they have failed to warrant the heirs of Robert, and she recovers her dowry from the manor of Ascum. If in these circumstances the Sandfords have not the assets in the manor against his heirs they may distrain for this £10. And so long as they have peaceable possession of the rent so long shall execution against the heirs of Sir Robert cease to the value of the recovery of the dowry. Two days later, 27 Oct., 1372, the Sandfords are bound to the extent of 400 marks to Sir Robert Swinburne for a recognition in Chancery at this time and in 200 marks at 1 Nov., the next year: but Sir Robert consents that if they pay at Martinmas next £100, then the debt of 400 marks shall be annulled, and if they pay also 100 marks at Martinmas 1374 the bond of 200 marks shall be annulled. On the morrow of All Souls 1373 is a Final Concord between the Sandfords and Thomas Dawnay on one part and Sir Robert Swinburne on the other in which he hands over to them by sale the manor of Ascum, except 20s. of rent, together with the homage, and services of Edmond de Sandford of Helton and Idonea his wife, and of Thomas de Lowther, and their heirs. The amount paid in Court was £20, which of course does not represent the amount given for the estate but the costs of the Final Concord. One has to puzzle out the meaning of the whole transaction from the few remaining documents; but what appears to me clear is that Sir Robert had arranged that his wife Joan after his death should have her dowry out of all his estates,

* This and Ascom(e) are the spellings in almost all the mediaeval documents. Apparently the manor was first leased to the Sandfords.

and when he leased and then sold Askham to the Sandfords it was with the stipulation that they were to have from his other estates a rent of £10 to make up for the portion of his widow's dowry—£10—which they would have to pay out of Askham. If she had to sue for her dowry from the other estates and the Sandfords did not get the £10 yearly they could distrain. But if they parted with Askham or any portion of it they must warrant his heirs the payment of this £10 yearly, of course warranting it against those to whom they sold; or else that much of Joan's dowry would be lost. And as to the actual terms of purchase and the reduction from practically £400 to £166 13s. 4d. apparently made, I can offer no explanation. Idonea's own statement given later on says that the purchase cost 850 marks, i.e. £566 13s. 4d., which would mean the total of the costs, and there is something apparently unaccounted for in the documents which remain. The homage and services of Edward de Sandford and Idonea, since the whole transaction was to place them in possession, were a fiction as regards themselves; but the portion due to the superior lords (the Cliffords) remained for them to pay, and Thomas de Lowther became their feoffee. There were possible claims to be barred, for on 16 Oct., 1374, John de Rokewode, Thomas de Rokewode and John Halydon gave up to the purchasers all claim to the manor. These must have been relatives of the Swinburnes, one or other of whom in case of male heirs failing Sir Robert might have succeeded. Sir Robert was son of Sir Thomas son of Robert de Swinburne, and was —*Inq. p. mortem* C. Edward III., File 32 (12) and C. Edward III., File 32 (13)—five years old in 6 Edward III. (1332), heir of lands in Suffolk and Essex as well as lands in the north. Edmund de Sandford and Idonea, I think, had to borrow for the purchase, for there is a receipt to the executors of Thomas de Anand, rector of Asby, for part payment of their debt to him in 1375.

There were also various matters to settle with some of the freeholders, William Colynson, John Meryman, Richard Johnson and Thomas de Lowther, before the new owners were at ease. These came in the next year, 1375, and in that year William de Sandford the elder, cleric, having died,* his executors, Thomas Dawnay, William de Sandford and Edmond de Sandford, paid to Roland de Thornburgh the legacies mentioned in these *Trans.*, N.S., xiv., 61, for his children.

In 1377 Edmund de Sandford was guardian of the lands and tenements of Thomas, son and heir of William de Artureth, and assigned to Thomas de Sandford and Maria his wife holdings in and about Carlisle in exchange for others. This is the last record that I have seen of him and it was apparently the last year of his life. Idonea afterwards married Sir Thomas Ughtred who, as we learn from a grant by the king in 1402 of the custody of his estates to William Sandford and Robert Gare, held Kyllyngwyk, Towerthorp in the Thisteles and other places in Yorkshire under William, Lord Latymer and Thomas, Lord Mowbray. These lands should descend, the charter says, to Thomas son of William son of Thomas Ughtred who is called therein, "consanguineus" of William and John Sandford. Idonea's other child by Thomas Ughtred was a daughter Margaret. Idonea's husband must have been son of the Thomas Ughtred who was 18 when his father Robert died in 1309—*Inq. p. m.* C. Edward II., File 15 (9). Of Ughtred documents there is only one other in the Sandford papers, an agreement in Norman French for a re-building of the date 1341, so interesting as regards mediaeval house-building that I add it with such translation and explanation as I can give (*Appendix I.*).

Idonea's description of her Westmorland lands still

* The earlier history of the Sandfords so far as I have been able to trace it out I give in Appendix XI.

exists but is not all legible now and a portion is gone. It was printed in a description of her will in the 18th century. Here I give what still remains decipherable, filling in by means of brackets from the printed copy what makes up gaps.

I dayme Edonea Sandforthe makythe her * remembrance off all my landys in Westmerland the wyche ys myn herytage yat is to say Helton dale wt the [Skeweg]he. Item lond in Carholand. Item lond in Boterwyke. Item the manor off Knype. Item Satrowe park wt the browne more and the depe yngs. Item the courteyerd wyth the [rode] banke and the scheype cott and half the mylne off Helton. Item Stokthawyte and Wythwathe. Item ij acrs off lond in Whale yt lyeth by the [bek]e. Item a borwayne at Helton townehend, and theys parsells aboune sayd ys myne anerytance be my lord my Fader the wych my lady my grandame gayff to my Fader and to his hayres. Item I have in Ascom viii oxgangs off lond and halffe the mylne [longyng] to the same the wyche my lord my fader purchased of Sir Hew off Louther and gayffe it to me. [Item as toch]ynge the manor and the londes and the towne of Ascome ye wych yt my lord my husband [and I] purchased off Syr Robert Swynborne wt [viij] hondreth merks and fyfty, of the[s lands and towne I] have my therd as I had in [Syr Thomas Ugthred] days. And for the londs off [and for noe nother londes that myne ys] suld be ward, zyffe the lawe . . . . .

The fragment ends imperfectly, besides being in part undecipherable ; it is no part of her will but is a separate document. Of wills she left two ; both are in Latin and the greater portion of each can still be read ; these follow in *Appendix II.* and *III.* One was made while her eldest son William was living, in 1414 ; the other after his death in 1420. They have different provisions, the chief of which I may allude to here. In 1414 she was ready to be buried " where God willed " and left two marks to be distributed anywhere, and 40s to be given to poor and needy who were infirm to pray for her soul and Robert Shirburne's and for the departed faithful ;

* = here.

10 marks for her funeral, to be held without pomp. Her furniture in York to go to her second son John. William her eldest son, under threat of her malediction, is to provide a proper priest in Ascome to celebrate divine service for all time for the souls of their benefactors and all the faithful departed. Robert Brette and his wife (her daughter Joan) are residuary legatees. She made this will at Cransley near Kettering, Northants., where she was staying, and from its tone one imagines was ill and expecting not to recover.

The later will has more specified provisions and is much more businesslike in form. In this she wishes to be buried in St. Peter's, Leicester, and her best cloak is to be her "principal," which means chief mortuary offering. Six pounds of wax are to be used in lights round her body, 40^{s} are to be divided between the poor and celebrating masses for her soul and 5 marks are devoted to her funeral. Her best bed of black with coverings and Silesian linen, and with a "camera" belonging to the same set and the curtains, she left to her daughter Idonea if Idonea survived her; if not, the whole suite was to be sold and the money distributed for her soul's good. All other cloth or linen furnishing material and all other beds were to be sold and the money distributed for the good of her soul as her executors thought fit. To the mother of Robert Brette, Joan, she left all her garments and kerchief and two tunics (coats) if she survived her; if not, these were to be sold for her soul's good. Also she willed that a piece of silver with a silver cover should be had by the master of St. Leonard's of Leicester if he survived her; if not, that was to be sold for her soul's and his soul's benefit. One is tempted to imagine that he was the Robert Shirburne of her former will. To Joan (Brette) her daughter she left a silver vessel without a cover if Idonea died; if Idonea survived her mother it was to be hers and she was to

have all her chests and the precious stones called "perles" and all other jewels, which when Idonea died were to go to Joan. Her best mantle, as before, is to be her principal mortuary gift, the next best to be Joan's, the next Joan's also. The directions about a chaplain at Askham are altogether altered. It is no longer the church (St. Peter) but the chapel of St. Mary belonging to the Hall which her grandson Robert is to provide with a chaplain; and to endow this and to find a distribution of 10^{s} for the souls of his ancestors she leaves the eight bovates and moiety of the mill which her father bought of Hugh de Lowther. If Robert did not provide a good chaplain to say these masses then the 8 bovates and moiety of the mill were to be sold, and the proceeds applied to these two purposes. In *Appendix X.* I give particulars of the chapel and the Hall.

The children of her and Edmund de Sandford were William, Robert, John, Joan, who married Robert Brette, and Idonea, who seems not to have been married. William had died before 1420, having held on lease lands of hers in Westmorland, for the payment of the yearly rent of which one receipt remains. It was given for 10 marks in 1417 to William de Hoton in the Forest, Hugh de Salkeld of Rosgill, John de Lancaster of Brampton and William de Wybergh (of Clifton), his assigns. William's widow married Thomas de la More, the reversion of whose lands came to Robert her son about 8 Henry V., i.e. about 1420-1. He had succeeded to his father's lands, c. 5 Henry V., (1417-8). Robert seems in the beginning of 1426 to have married Elizabeth Thornburgh, thereby probably putting an end to any outstanding controversy between the two families about claims to succession. But as usual the entail had to be carried out by handing over the estate as a whole or in portions to interim feoffees, to be granted back on the fresh entail. Richard de Soureby, chaplain, was made the interim feoffee of

the park of Satirhow in Helton Flechan, but the indenture is lost ; only the letter of attourney remains, by means of which he put Robert and Elizabeth in seisin (1 March, 1426). A grant by Robert to other interim feoffees exists : to John Lowys and William Wodsyde, chaplains, John Walker, " yoman," John Hoghyrd " yoman," John Vyderhyrd, " yoman " and Thomas Jacsun, " yoman." This grant is of the manor of Helton Flechan 12 April, 1433. Another follows, granting to John Walton and John Dobson of Ascome, Saterow parke and two tenements in Helton Flechan which William Collynson and Thomas Walker then held, dated 1 June 1438, and these must have had the grants back, but they do not now exist. Then in 1439 to John Danby, vicar of Askom, and John Wedirrerde Robert grants his Helton demesne, who 8 days later granted back to Robert Sandford and Elizabeth and the heirs male of Robert all the demesnes which they were holding (as interim feoffees) in Helton (then tenanted by Thomas Walker, William Colynson and John Wyldyng) in regular form to be held of the chief lord. These deeds made the Helton estate secure. The witnesses of the last were Hugh Lowther, William Stapylton, Thomas de la More, all esquires, " and others." The Hugh Lowther was Hugh of Askham, who in 1449 handed over to Robert Wressell, vicar of Askham (he was vicar of Barton in 1467) and " William Lancastre alias William Thompson of Sockbrede " and the longer liver of the two all his tenements in Askham and elsewhere in Westmorland and in Melmerby in Yorkshire.

On 15 December, 1449, the Latin of the document being curious through illiteracy of clerks (as not seldom it was in this period), Robert Sandforde granted to John Nobill and Henry Walker and William Colynson a messuage in the township (i.e. of Helton) " de fute of Caldell grandge "—Cordale, I think. On 3 Feb., 1451, Robert grants to his son Thomas Sandford and Margaret his wife his

whole manor of Knype and the tenements there and in "Patrike Banton," and in "Banton Cundall," and a tenement called "Bowskale," in "Heltondall," to be held of the chief lords on the usual cornage terms. This was a marriage portion; Margaret was Margaret Musgrave (these *Trans.* N.S., xiii., pp. 226-7): the grant was followed by a letter of attourney to Adam Bradefote and William Winton, chaplains, to give seisin to Thomas and Margaret of these lands, 9 Feb., 1451, and by an attournment deed—a recognition of new ownership—given by (the freeholders) Henry Langhorne of Helton and Angneta his wife to Thomas and Margaret. Their tenement was a messuage and 10 acres in "Misand." No doubt there were other attournment deeds of other tenants like that of Measand, which was dated 10 Dec., 1453. These have, however, disappeared. On 30 August, 1456, Thomas Sandford of Setterhowe (evidently this was where he lived), Robert Hobson and John Hobson of "Knayp," John Langhorn and Robert Walker of "Heltondall" enter into a bond with Robert Sandford for £20, but there is no document remaining to tell why. And on 4 April, 1458, John Hogherd, senior, of Bampton confirmed "Rougholl" and its belongings to Thomas and Margaret, to be held by them and their heirs of the chief lords. The witnesses of this deed of interim feoffees are Thomas Wiberghe, Edmund Sandford, John Dycson, William Nobille, Henry Jakson "and others." The estate of Hugh [Hucheon] Louthre in Melmerby was by him handed over to Sir Gilbert Lancaster in 1450, but the lands and tenements in Askom, Bourebank, Mesand and [Terr]ill and a cottage in Clifton were granted to Thomas Sandford before 7 Sept., 1476, by Hugh for Hugh's life—evidently as interim feoffee at first, though this was an extraordinary grant if it was so. It would naturally have been grant without restriction. But on that date these were confirmed by Thomas Sandford to Thomas

"Louthyre," brother and heir of Hugh, and vicar of Adyngham, and were handed over by him on the same date to Thomas Sandford again through John Meuburn and William Mylner, as attourneys; the handing over being followed by a bond, 1 October, 1476, given by Thomas "Sandfurt" and William "Loncastre" of Emmot brig to pay 5 marks on the next feast of St. John Baptist. Then on 10 February, 1478, Thomas Louthyre, vicar of Adyngham, granted and confirmed to Thomas Sandforthe * all these tenements unless he or his heirs paid to Thomas Sandford or his assigns £100 in one day in the parish church of S. Peter of Askom. No date of payment is given, but much of all this had come to be legal form only. For on 12 February, Thomas Louthyre appointed William Curwen, esq., and William Langhorn of Helton, his attourneys to give seisin to Thomas Sandford and Margaret his wife of these same lands and tenements. The witnesses of the deed of 10 February, were Christopher Lancaster, William Curwen, Thomas Wybergh esquires, Mr. Thomas Boste (or Bosce), vicar of Penrith, and Henry Jakson and Henry Byrkbek of Penrith, "yomen." Thus the whole of Askham came into the hands of the Sandfords.†

We will now go back to 1459. An indenture of the 16 December of that year "bytwix Roberte off Sanfforthe of Ascom, Elizabeth wyffe of the sayde Roberte and Thomas Sanfforthe sonn and heyre apparent to the sayde Roberte & Elizabeth on the tone party and Humffre

* There are duplicate deeds of this. One has simply Thomas Sandford named in it, the other Thomas Sandford and Margaret his wife and their heirs.

† An outcome of the coming into possession of the Lowther lands in Askham was an award in 1495, after dispute, between Thomas Lord Dacre of Gillesland and Geoffrey Lancaster on one part and Thomas Sandfurth on the other, about the right "tytill" to lands in "Askom, Meysand and Burbank." Lord Dacre and Geoffrey were to have Burbank and Tirril, and Thomas Sandford to keep Askham and Measand. A release of these to him was given by them 21 Oct., 1495. Whether this was a consequence of the departure from older legal form in Sept., 1476, in part, I do not know enough to suggest.

Dacre esquier on that tothr party wyttnes att the sayde Roberte, Elizabethe and Thomas hathe gyffyn & grauntyt and to fferm lattyn to the saide Humff^re^ his sectours & his assigns thaire parke off Setterhowe w^t^ the herbege off the same the manc̄on & placs * beldytt for terem̄ off X yere." This was at a rent of 10 marks yearly "off Inglish mone" to be paid in two sums, 5 "at the nativete of Saynt John Baptiste," and 5 "in the nativitie of our Lorde." Humphrey Dacre is to have "during the said tereme all comodits and proffeits in one [= any] wise" belonging thereto. The witnesses are Roberte Langhorne, John Nessebytt, Robert Louther "and mone [= many] other." The seal has remains of the three scallop shells of Dacre. Humphrey Dacre was simply esquire at the time, son and heir of Ranulf, Lord Dacre, slain at Towton on the Lancastrian side, 29 June, 1461. One imagines from this indenture that Thomas Sandford had left Setterah and that Humphrey Dacre then began to live there. But he succeeded to Dacre itself later and made peace with the House of York and became baron. This deed is endorsed 38 Henry VI. and 107.

It is evident that Robert Sandford died in 1459 or 1460. All charters that exist of later date are concerned with Thomas who succeeded him. One numbered 109 is an order given by "Richard Erle of Warrewyk and Salisbury grete chamberlain of England and Capitain of Calais † to Thomas Warcop of Lambreset our Receivour within the Counte of Westmorland. We woll and charge you that of the Revenuz of your office ye content and paie yerely unto our wellbiloved Thomas Sandforth squire the some of five marc sterling during his life according to the tenour of an endenture of bileiving bitwyx us and hym." This is "yeven under our signet at our Castell of Midelham," 28 April, 2 Edward V., (1462). It is clear that the said

* Places; words ending in "ces" are often written "cs" in the deeds.
† The King-maker.

indenture is the document which if it existed would have the number 108 endorsed upon it, and that Thomas Sandford had pronounced himself as a Yorkist. A great interest to an antiquary in the deed is that it is signed in a hand quite distinct from that of the text, "R. Warrewyk"—the earliest instance but one of such a signature in the documents with which I have had to deal. On 14 March, 1462, is a release to Thomas and Margaret Sandford, by John Hogherd the elder, of Rowgholl in Bampton—the witnesses being Alexander Zate [= Yate], William Nobill "and many others." Following the consolidation of the estate comes on April 8, 1464, from Penrith, an open letter drawn up by Richard Hodelston "eschetour" to the king in Cumberland and Westmorland appointing Thomas Sandforth as his attourney in "a parcell of Westmorland that is for to saye from the water of Amot [Eamont] to the water of Lawyer [Lowther] he for to sese, take, areste and occupye for me and in my name all manner of Ying [thing] perteynyng to my sayd office of Eschetourship, and w^{t} in [within] ye said Bownd" and also "w^{t} in the paroche of Shape and the paroche of Maurland w^{t} yat at [= wherewith] non of myn offecers have been y^{t} and sesyd to before." This document is numbered 111.

As is not unusual after rise to office, especially after civil war, quarrels with neighbours became aggravated. In 1465 comes a bond by John Salkeld of Rosgill, Thomas Burgham of Brougham, William Hoton of Penrith and *Roger Lancastre of Sokebred* (erased) on one side and Thomas Sandford of Ascombe on the other, to find £200 in Michaelmas of that year, the condition of having to pay being this:—that if John Salkeld and all who have taken part with him against Thomas Sandford in disputes and debates between the two should stand to the award, to be given before Assumption Day, of "thre of theis," Thomas Curwen, kt., Hugh Louther squyer, Richard

Salkeld squyer, Thomas Wharton squyer, John Crakenthorp of Holgill squyer and Richard Beaulieu, "arbitrours" chosen on John Salkeld's part, and "thre of theis," John Hudleston kt., William Parre kt., Thomas Lamplugh, kt., Thomas Radclyff squyer, Richard Musgrave the elder, squyer, and Thomas Spence, "arbitrours" on Thomas Sandford's part; or, if the award be not given, the award of John Nedeham kt. and Thomas Littleton or one of them chosen as "umpere" by both parties "and the king's peace be kept," the bond shall be void. The award appears to be lost, but I suppose was made.

Another quarrel in the autumn of that year caused a bond by William Colynson of Helton Flechan "yoman," William Colynson junior, his son, and Henry Lambhyrd, in which Thomas Sandford is arbitrator and John Wederhyrde, William Smyth, Alexander Zate [Yate], William Nobil, John Wilkinson senior and others, abide "to kepe peace" or to pay.

There are others of the sort, quarrels being rife, and private arbitration being, I suppose, less costly than law. There was not true peace. A new style of seeking defence, the Government of the day being inefficient, was gradually growing up. On 17 January, 1468, was made out an indenture "betwexe Thomas of Sandforth of Askom esquiere on the ton partie and William of Bradle [Bradley], of Gnyp, yoman, on ye toder partie" bearing witness that the said William of Bradle "is w^t^haldyn [withholden] belevyt * and becommyn the said Thomas man for term of lyve and the said William his frends [relatives] and all that he may cause and streyn shall take treu & ffeythful part with the said Thomas os oft os he maks the said William sufficient warnynge, against all maner of men except y^e^ Soveran lord the Kyng" "for y^e^ whilke w^t^hold beleve and service" . . .

* Chaucer has *byleve*, to stay

"ye said Thomas salbe to y^e^ said William gud and tender maister." The withholding [= retaining] fee was 13s. 4d. yearly.

Another of these retaining deeds of 28 October, 1470, binds Henry Walker of Butterwyk crag and his sons William and John to be "trow men & servands" to Thomas Sandforth and "w^t^ hym and hys" "take parte in pease and were during thaire life and before all oder except ye Kyng and Yaire land lorde," and stipulates that these men shall never be "servands nor tenands to Jhone Salkeld nor take his parte"; also that if it ever be proved that the said "Henry Walkar or hys childyr was at the betyng of Wyll Wylkynson in Butterwyk or brekyng of his house or off ye housys of Wyll Nobyll or Sandgate or consented thereto" they are to abide Thomas Sandford's award.

A more formal deed of 24 April, 1469, retains John Clebburne of Banton to attach himself as "comyn and belefte mann" against all "oder men in pease and wer except the Kyng, and Rowland Clybburn his own fader w^t^ all his own breder and Sir Thomas Curwen hys fader in law w^t^ all hys chylder." This belongs to the Cliburn history and I hope to give it later. Deeds like these are revelations of what men of position had to have recourse to in self defence in lawless times of inefficient governments. The lawlessness even showed itself in the garrisons of Carlisle wherefrom soldiers attacked the manor houses and castles, as is shown by the early Chancery Records.

As a previous instance in the Lowther charters of the earlier sort of indenture of "service," there is one which I may mention between Roger de Clifford, lord of Westmorland (26 Oct., 1379), and John de Lowther retaining him for a whole year to attend Thomas de Clifford son and heir of Roger and to look after his servants, his horses and his attendants at a payment of £10. This is

in Norman French. He was to take Thomas to wars if wars happened and the pay and bounty of the king were assured; was to account to Roger for all receipts, coin or other (including captures), and he and his valet and his horses were to feed at the expense of the lord. There is a wide difference between this and the later retaining indentures and services. There is no hint of local frays, no restrictions against neighbours, none of the signs of internal feud and misgovernment that occur in the later indentures.

The local feuds went down to the "yomen" too, as well as those above them. There is a bond of 1 May 1469 of the Gybson family of Bampton Grange, in which Sir Thomas Curwen and Thomas Sandford are to be arbitrators in a quarrel between the Gybsons and the family of Bacster of Bampton. Part of this deed is torn away and the causes of the quarrel remain unexplained.

In 1471 comes a deed of lease of the "led zatte,"* whatever that means, now Lea Yate, in which Thomas Sandford and his son William are united. The holders were a family named Zate [Yate]: and in the same year a bond to abide by award as regards boundary between Thomas Sandford on one side and Christopher Lancaster of Nether Hertsop, Christopher Lancaster of Over Hertsop, Geoffrey Lancaster and John Lancaster of Wainbredhalse on the other, with especial reference to a place at Ellerbek "late John bek"—to abide by the award of Henry Hoton, esquire, Thomas Hoton of Medil Scogh, Gyfferay Threlkeld, Christopher Lancaster, Thomas Wyber and William Lancaster, or five of them. Next year is a bond by Thomas Sandforth and John Musgrave of "Edynhal" given to Sir William Parr and Sir John Parr, knights, to abide by award in a longer quarrel, one

* This is first mentioned in a Bampton document of before 1291; and will come up again in the Cundal history. Much the same is the case with several other Bampton local names.

between Thomas Sandford and John Salkeld. And again in 1475, Thomas Sandford is arbitrator in a local dispute between John Langhorn of Helton dale, Robert Hogson, John Nobill and Robert Langhorn and the family of Zate [Yate], and two indentures belong to this. Again, 8 January, 1477, William Nobill, senior, of Butterwick and William Nobill, John Nobill son of William, William Lancaster of Emotbryg, Wylliam Langhorn of Helton Flechan and John Nobyll of "Gnybe" are bound to Thomas Sandford to abide his award—but the document is illegible in the portion which should tell the cause.

The strife between the Sandfords and the Salkelds shows an indenture made at Zhanwyth [Yanwath] 4 May, 1477 (*Appendix IV*), which should have been the end of that long feud; and the release of Measand by Agnes Salkeld and Hugh follows on 24 June, 1480; but documents show that a pardon was given by Henry VIII. on 4 August, 1529, to John Sandforth "late of Apulby," and Thomas Lawe "late of Askom," for slaughter of Henry Salkeld, and in 1536 the king appointed justices of Assize to take the case of novel disseisin brought by Robert Sandford against John Salkeld and William Lancaster about tenements in Bampton Cundale.

Of 1477 also, 20 March, is a document in English quite as interesting, were there space to give it, which shows an attournment by John Wylkynson and his son, of "Buttyrwyk," to Thomas Sandford and William his son on the understanding that Thomas and William will maintain their cause in recovery of John's "place" in Heltondale against Robyn Wylkynson "as fer as ryght and law wyll." "The reule and governance the profyttes and aweyllys * y^t may grow by ye gryssomys theroff duryng thayre ii lyfes" to be also the Sandfords', "who sall be

* Avails, benefits, an obsolete noun.

tendyr maystr to thame as they er to odyr off thaire awne tenands." Another addition to the Sandford lands is interesting because it shows surnames in the process of being formed:—Thomas Robynson of Herbewaynes, son and heir of Robert Thomson, late of Quayle, grants the tenement in Heltondale (Bampton) lately in the tenure of Robert Wylkynson. Here are four generations, Wilkyn, Robert, Thomas, Robert and three ways in which their surnames were taken. This deed is witnessed by Thomas Wyber, Hugh Camberton, vicar of Bampton, Henry Langhorn, John Wath "and others," 14 October, 1478. Other branches of the same family of Wylkinson seem to come in a contemporary deed of John Wylkynson of Penreth, son of John Wylkinson once of Butterwick, who had owned the same tenement, viz.: "le Herdkyn in Heltondalle" (Hardken), and here the surname is not in flux. Wylliam Nobyll had lately been the tenant. John son of John Wylkynson "the wryght" holds it by gift of Thomas Sandford "zeldyng zerly to Tho. Sandford & his ayres" "all sweche boneday werkys as hathe bene customed to wyrk for the same place." If John Wylkynson does not choose to live there other tenants may be put in, provided that John and his heirs have a rent of 6s. 8d. yearly from it; and distress for lack of payment can be taken from the land in Butterwyk and a place in Rughole belonging to the Sandfords. John Wylkinson had a son who was parish clerk of Bampton, who by the arrangement above was to have 10s. at the decease of Thomas Sandford or that of John Wylkinson his "fader"; which matter and 5 marks settled the fate of Herdkyn, from which the "Abbott of Schapp and the conventt chefe lordys of it have 12^{d} by zere and multyr to theyre myln in Bampton att 20 bussells."

What had happened untoward in 1484 I have found nothing to explain; but trouble is implied in a grant by Thomas Sandford of all his goods "living & dead" to

be held or sold, goods and chattels all, by Christopher Lancaster, John Musgrave and Thomas Wibergh, and disposed of as they thought best. John Musgrave was first cousin of his wife, and presumably Christopher Lancaster and Thomas Wibergh were also relatives. But the days of Richard III. were dangerous days.

In 1488, Sept. 15, is a bond to keep the arrangement between Thomas Sandforth and John Layburn for the marriage of Edmund Sandforth, son and heir of William, son to Thomas and Ann Layburn, daughter of John and Isabel Layburn. The bond is between Christopher Curwen of Wirkington, William Thornburgh of Hampesfell and Thomas Wibergh of Clifton. Edmund was to marry before Michaelmas next and Thomas Sandford was to "find" the said Edmund "at his own proper costes" "to the tyme he be complete xvi." years of age. But either the marriage did not take place or the death of Ann came soon. For in 1497, May 9th, Thomas Sandfurth and John Musgrave, kt., and Christopher Lancaster granted "their mill of Askom," two tenements held by a family named Kendale, two in Little Asby, one in Askom called "Powledone," one in Helton called "Stokethwayte" and one cottage in Gnype, of all which they had evidently been made interim feoffees, to Edmund Sandforth and Elizabeth his wife. The witnesses were "Sir Thomas Dakere, Sir Christopher Moresby, and Anthony Crakynthorpe, and others." Elizabeth seems to have been Elizabeth Warcop.

Margaret Musgrave, daughter of Thomas Musgrave and Mariota Stapleton, who had been married to Thomas Sandford about 1456, early in life, in the year in which her father died, passed away in 1508, and John Crackenthorp of Newbigging and Thomas "Cliborn" were her executors and gave a quitclaim to Edmund Sandforth on 9 March, 1509, disclaiming all possible actions they might bring against him. On 24 August, 1513, Edmund

granted the manor of Askom to Thomas, Lord Dacre, Ambrose Crackenthorpe, John Culwen, doctor of Theology and rector of Workington, John Crakenthorpe and John Coldall that they might fulfil his last will; and William Lancaster and Thomas Clybburn were his attourneys to give seisin. John Wylson, vicar of Askham, amongst others witnessed this.

Direct records henceforth for some years cease. In 1525, May 3, Thomas, Lord Dacre wrote to Cardinal Wolsey a letter which gives the information that "one Hughe Cliburn son to Thomas Cliburn gentleman and oders his brether & kynnysmen cam unlawfully to the manor place and dwelling hous of a kynnysman and householde servant" of his "named Thomas Sandforth of Askom and notwithstanding the proximitie of blode whitche the said Hughe standeth unto the same Thomas Sandforthe, against the law of god right and good conscience, between the hours of nine and ten of the night, friday before Purification [Feb. 2] riotously and foreseably tooke Grace Crackenthorpe wif unto the said Thomas Sandforth because she is an inheritour. And her kepes wrongfully as furdre apperith in the bill of complainte presented in afore youre grace by Elysabeth Sandforth moder unto the said Thomas." He asks Wolsey that she may be restored to her husband again (*State Papers, Dom.*, vol. iv., pt. 1, 17 Henry VIII). This Thomas was son of Edmund. Edmund was dead (he died 1518) and it does not make this evil deed any the better that Hugh and his father Thomas Cliburn were bound to Elizabeth Sandford, widow, in £40 sterling (3 May, 1523) that they would keep and truly perform and fulfil all such "articles commands, condicions and agreements specified and contened in a pair of indentures concernyng the services & wags [wages]" of the said Hugh who was thus at Askham Hall, which had not then had its alterations, as her retainer. Grace was she through whom her third

son, Richard Sandford, succeeded to Howgill, as is plain from the deed of Anne, wife of her eldest son Thomas, which I give later.

In 1544 is a receipt given by Elinor, Countess dowager of "Rutlande," Sir Richard Manners, Sir John Chatworthe, kt., Augustyn Porter, Harry Digby and Robert Thurstone, executors of the last will and testament of Thomas Earl of Rutland, to Lancelot Lancaster and "Michell" Hudson for £320 13s. 4d. for the purchase of the parsonages of Barton and Askham—that is, the rectorial endowments. Elizabeth, widow of Edmund, dying in 1560 left a will made at Greystoke where she was living on 11 February of that year. She wished to be buried at Askome in the parish church; bequeathed to her daughter Dorothy Dudley her "aparell, 2 gowns, 3 kirtles, 1 velvet bonethe, 2 front clothes, 2 fether beds with 2 pair of sheets, 2 pair of blanketts, 2 coverlets and 2 bolsters." Everything else that she had, after debts, legacies and funeral expenses were settled, was left to Thomas Sandford her son, of "Askome," her sole executor.

The Sandfords had now reached and were passing the summit of their prosperity. In possession of two of the notable "pele" strongholds of Westmorland, Askham Hall and Howgill—each of the two having the rare straight staircase from the entrance door made in the thickness of the walls to the upper storeys and continued thence presumably by newel to the battlements—as well as a fair estate, it might look as if a greater future was before them. But the Elizabethan fever of expenditure in building came on Thomas Sandford, as it did on his kinsman Richard Cleburne and at costs to each of them so great that their decline began. Thomas Sandford no more built Askham Hall than did Richard Cleburne build Cliburn Hall. They simply added, altered and expanded. Both were evidently copying what had been done by Christopher Crackenthorpe (who was in one way or other

kinsman or connexion of theirs) in 1533, and apparently in a wiser way. There is no record of Sandford being persuaded to spend much on purchasing an estate in another county as there is of Cleburne. There is no intimation that I have seen of sympathy or help given to Mary, Queen of Scots, after her landing at Workington and of trouble that ensued then or afterwards on that account, as there is of Gerard Lowther the elder and Richard Cleburne. In the Sandford case it seems to have been very costly expenditure on the house which got them into financial straits. This at least one judges from documents—the will of Thomas, quoted in *Appendix VI.*, the deed made by Ann (Hutton), widow of Thomas, in 1576, and the indenture between the next Thomas Sandford and Richard Sandford of Howgill of 1589, which I give in *Appendix VII.* and *VIII.*, as well as by the Inquisitio post mortem of 1631 from which I give portions containing particulars of the history, as well as a digest of this last (*Appendix IX.*).

Thomas Sandford died when his son was only 9 years old and whilst his enlargement of Askham Hall was still in progress; he was buried on 6 July, 1574, having completed, possibly, the gateway which has the inscription of that year. In 1576,* on January 9, his widow Anne executed the deed mentioned, containing amongst other things an inventory of furniture of the Hall, apparatus of kitchen and dairy, farm implements and stock, all that had been left in her hands, accounting for all which she was purposing to hand over to her son Thomas on his attainment of full age; business-like and interesting it is, a revelation of what the houses of that class in the Elizabethan age held. She chose as trustee to act with those appointed by her husband (Humfrey Musgrave, his cousin, and Richard Sandford of Howgill, his uncle), Alan Bellingham of Levens, husband of Dorothy, sister of her

* New style: old style, 1575.

ASKHAM HALL.

GATEWAY AND 1574 SHIELD AND INSCRIPTION.

The present position of the oldest shield, Helbeck, &c., is in the kitchen wall a little to the left of the shed shown in the left-hand corner of this.

Phot. by Col. F. Haswell.

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husband and of Richard Sandford. A document signed by this Alan exists acknowledging the receipt of £50 in completion of the payment of 600 marks which Thomas Sandford, father of Thomas, Richard and Dorothy, had covenanted to give him with his daughter Dorothy, dated 11 Nov., 1562.

One asks oneself why so long before Thomas her son was to be of age—he would not attain majority till 1588, since he was born 6 June, 1567*—Anne Sandford executed this deed. But the secret is revealed by an entry in the registers of Askham,* dated January 10, 1576, the day after the execution of the deed, telling that Mr. John Myddelton and Mrs. Anne Sandford were married on that date. Of this marriage I had met with not even a tradition elsewhere. But that Mr. John Myddelton lived at Askham afterwards is shown by two other entries in these registers. One in 1586, which is imperfect but says that the division † of Askham field was begun by Mr. John Myddelton and Anne his wife, then; another, which is of 1587, tells us that the division of Askham field was finished by Mr. Thomas Sandforth (he was then in his 21st year); and a third, which tells in 1588 that the first crop after the division was gathered in that year. Mr. John Myddelton seems to have been a widower: at any rate in 1580, Anne Myddelton was married at Askham to Richard Threlkeld gentleman, and Mary their daughter was baptized there, 10 September, 1583, and buried 12 August next year, and Mr. John Mydelton was godfather to Margaret, Thomas Sandford's eldest child. Another entry also may be a link; Mr. Thomas Dudley and Mrs. Frances Myddelton were married 30 January, 1597, the child very likely of

* *Askham Registers*, transcribed by Miss Noble and published by her through Bemrose & Sons.

† This was apparently the division for the jointure of Anne according to the will of Tho. Sandford, her first husband.

the two, John Myddelton and Anne who had been widow of Thomas Sandford. Thomas Sandford her son in 1589 made over (see *Appendix VIII.*) Milburne Grange to his relative Richard Sandford of Howgill for £200; his other agreements, as the *Inquisitio p. mortem* tells us (*Appendix IX.*), show great financial strain. This we shall see in the Appendix more clearly.

On 10 March, 1589, was a covenant between him and John Middleton of Carlisle (his stepfather evidently, who would leave when he came into full possession) and Robert Wetherington of Plesley in Northumberland, making them trustees of Settarah park and 4 messuages, &c. in Helton, value £42 7s. 2d., as his own marriage jointure or endowment, to be his and his wife's (Martha daughter of John Witherington) for life of the longer liver and then entailed on his heirs male. The trust thus became fee entailed after they were "seised" by the Trustees. Then on 13 April, 1597, he made an agreement with Ralph Ashton and John Townley, son and heir apparent of Bernard Townley of Heretwood [? Harwood] in Lancashire, by which he handed over to these, their heirs and assigns the manor of Askham and all lands and tenements in Askham and Helton except those of his marriage jointure—all that had been his father's and his grandfather's—for 80 years, if Richard Townley, son and heir of John Townley of Townley, or Jane his wife lived so long. This must have been for money on loan or mortgage, for the Inquisition tells us that Askham Hall was of no value (to its real owner) till this grant or lease came to an end. He had nine children, three of whom were sons. His eldest son and heir was buried (*Askham Registers*) 28 January, 1607; his second son was born and buried in 1595; his last and 9th child was John. Thomas died 27th September, 1630, and this John who succeeded him was buried on 28 December in that same year and the *Inquisitio post mortem* was held

after his death. Before his father died, namely on 22 August, 1625, when he would be more than of age,* he seems to have been already placed in possession of the manor of Askham. For he had an indenture drawn up with his relative Richard Sandford of Howgill by which for £270 he sold to Richard and his heirs all his manor of Askham: Richard on the same day had with him another indenture in which they agreed that if John, within 8 years, should pay (back) £270 in one payment and keep all the provisions of the former agreement, then the former indenture of sale should be invalid. This would appear not to have been fully done. For on 6 October, 1629, Richard, by a further indenture, granted back to John Sandford, Askham Hall with its belongings, tithes of sheaves and grain and hay on the demesne and on the lands of customary tenants (not the freeholders), the mill of Askham and £4 mill rent, for 1000 years. And John and his heirs were to give to Richard and his heirs and assigns £28 4s. at Howgill at Michaelmas every year. Thus John died in "possession" [*possessionatus*] of these and "seised" of a moiety of Helton and of Seterah park which Martha his widow held after him. The moiety of Helton, held of Francis, Earl of Cumberland (Clifford), by military service (cornage) was worth, after the grant to Ashton and Townley should come to an end, 14s. 4d. Seterah park after Martha's death, held also of Clifford by the same service, was worth £6 0s. 4d. The moiety of Helton and the advowson of Askham after that same grant came to an end would be worth £5. And Askham Hall, held also by military service of Clifford, was worth nothing until the term of the grant to Ashton and Townley was ended and after that, £28—the amount which was

* His baptism is not mentioned in the Askham Registers, but he would be born and baptized about 1588 or 9, when, as Miss Noble's note reminds us, the Plague was devastating the district, and his mother probably was elsewhere for safety.

to be given to the Sandfords of Howgill, yearly, all but 4s.

Thomas, John's son was, when John died in December 1630, two years and 8 months old. Maria Sandford, John's widow, and Martha Sandford his mother were still living and he possessed nothing else but that detailed in the Inquisition.

Thus till about 1677, if Jane Townley lived so long, practically the revenues of the Sandford family of Askham were only those of the jointure of John's father and mother; and after that the Askham estate was crippled by the Howgill payment.

Times change, but much that is in man remains the same.

My thanks are as aforetime due to the Earl of Lonsdale, Mr. W. Little, and Mr. R. Bailey and my friends of the Public Record Office and Major C. Sandford Thompson; also to Colonel Haswell for the photographs and Mr. Rowland I. Robinson for other information.

APPENDIX I.

Agreement for building: A.D. 1341.

Cest endenture fait entre Mons. Thomas Ughtred dun part, et John del Wod de Rypon dautre part, testmoigne qe le dite John ad empris a edificer le mote en le close, le dit Mons. Thomas joust yeveres le tout entour si pres le fosse tout com le dit Mons. Thomas le wolt edifier a son perille ove un pount tretise et une chambre a defens de la long de trent pietz ove un garderobe; et tout le meryn sera de cheyn bon et covenable de porter pier. Des quex mesons une sera graunge de la long' de tout le mote, et le postes de la long' de xvi pietz estre les bases de pier, et les balkes de xx pietz, ove deuz elynges acordanz, et un sale joust la chambre ove les postes de la long' de xvi piez e les balkes de xx piez, et les postes et les balkes des autres mesons de offices serront de mesme la long' si le dit Mons. Thomas le wolt, et les pannes et les postes au tizon seront de leaes et espesse solonc le scanteloune fait enter les parties. Pour quel overayn lealement

fair et perfourmer devant la feste de la purificacion de notre dame procheyn avenir, le dit Mons. Thomas dorra au dit John onte marcz dargent ove une robe de soue ove toutz les garnementz a paier en mayn quaraunt souz et a la fest de Saynt Martyn XL souls, et quant le overayn sera perfourmy deus marcs et la robe. Entestemoignaunce des quex choses les avantditz parties entrechaungeablement ount mis lour seales. Done a Brandesby le Mardy procheyn devant la fest del exaltacion de la Saynt Croice lan de notre Seign' M[l]CCCXLI.

Endorsed—le scantelon de leesse et del espossour del meryn demort devers Hen. le Stedman et est merche de purlens (?) de la sale Mon[r] Thom̄ Ughtred en Everwyk.

This indenture made between Sir Thomas Ughtred on the one part and John del Wod of Rypon on the other testifies that the said John has undertaken to build the chief messuage in the close of the said Sir Thomas according to the plans entirely to the best of his ability and quite as the said Sir Thomas wishes him to build, at his own risk; with a drawbridge and a room which can be defended of the length of 30 feet with a garderobe; and all the timber shall be of good oak and capable of carrying stone. Of which buildings one shall be a granary of the length of the whole chief messuage, and the posts of the length of 16 feet above the stone pedestals, and the tie-beams of 20 feet; with two aisles agreeing in dimensions and a hall next the room (above mentioned), with posts of the length of 16 feet and tie-beams of 20 feet. And the posts and tie-beams of the other buildings for offices shall be of the same length, if the said Sir Thomas wishes. And the compartments and the posts for spandrils (?) shall be of widths and thicknesses according to the specification made between the parties. For the loyal carrying out and completion of this work before the Festival of the Purification of our Lady next ensuing the said Sir Thomas will give to the said John 8 silver marks and a gown of silk with all its fittings; paying as (first) instalment 40 shillings and at the festival of St. Martin 40 shillings and when the work is done 2 marks and the gown. In attestation of which things the aforesaid parties have interchangeably affixed their seals. Given at Brandsby the Wednesday next before the Festival of the Exaltation of Holy Cross, the year of our Lord 1341.

Endorsement—The specification of the thicknesses and widths of the timber is lodged with Henry le Stedman and is marked of the purlins (?) of the hall of Sir Thomas Ughtred in York.

II.—First Will of Idonea Sandford (Ughtred).*

In Dei nomine Amen. Undecimo die Junii anno Domini MCCCCXIV ego Ydonea Ougthrede commorans hac vice apud Craneslee in Comitatu Northamton relicta quondam domini Thome Oughthred militis in pura mentis integritate, debilitate tamen corporis constricta condo testamentum meum ad hunc modum. In primis lego animam meam Deo omnipotenti beate Marie et omnibus Sanctis ejus et corpus meum ad sepeliendum ubicunque Deus voluerit. [Item lego] in distributionem pauperum simpliciter ubicunque poterint inveniri duas marcas. Item in distributionem pauperum et infirmorum indigentium eodem ordine ut prius, ut orent pro me et pro anima Roberti Shirburne et pro animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum xl^{s}. Item lego ad diem obitus mei in expensis circa [corpus meum] in pauperibus et aliis necessariis tamen absque pompa mundana X marcas. Item [lego omnia s]upellectilia que habeo in civitate de York Johanni Sandford filio meo. Item [onero] dominum Will'mum Sandford filium meum ut ipse oneret filios suos [et] filios filiorum . . . . . [ut] exibeat et exibeant presbiterum idoneum [(ad celebrandum) in ecclesia de Asko]mbe in perpetuum pro animabus benefactorum nostrorum et omnium fidelium [defunctorum sub pena benedictio]nis mee vel maledictionis

. . . . . .

permanserit bene fiat illi. Residuum vero [omnium bonorum meorum] lego et do Roberto Br(ette armigero) et Johanne uxori ejus filiee mee et filiis suis. Item ordino et constricto executores meos Robertum Brette armigerum predictum et Johannem Sandford filium meum ut ipsi ordinent et disponant in omnibus premissis prout videtur illis in melius anime mee coram . . . . .

dat. apud Craneslee predictam die et anno Domini predictis.

Endorsed et anno Hen. V. 2° 1414
and 91.

Abstract of Provisions.

Clear in mind but weak in body she gives her soul to God the blessed Mary and all the saints, her body to be buried wherever God wills. For distribution to poor people generally 2 marks. For distribution to the sick and needy amongst them that they may pray for her and for the soul of Robert Shirburne and all souls of the faithful departed 40^{s}. For expenses about her body on her

* The portions in brackets supplied from a MS. copy in 18th century hand.

death day and for the poor and other necessaries, but she wished no worldly pomp, 10 marks. The furniture she had in the City of York to go to her son John Sandford. She charged Sir William Sandford her son and he was to charge his sons and his sons' sons to provide a fit priest to celebrate masses in the church of Askham for all time for the souls of the benefactors of the family and all the faithful departed. Her blessing if they did this, her malediction if they did not. Residuary legatees were Robert Brette and Joan her daughter, his wife and their children. Robert Brette and John Sandford to be her executors.

The text of the will is now imperfect and torn.

III.—Second Will of Idonea Ughtred: 8 Hen. V., 1420 (now imperfect).

proxim. ante festum nativitatis Beate Marie virginis . . . . . [ego domina Idonea Ugtreth bone et salubris memorie] anno Domini MCCCCXX condo testamentum meum in hunc modum. In primis lego [animam meam Deo] omnipotenti et beate Marie et omnibus sanctis et corpus meum ad sepeliendum in ecclesia Sti Petri Leyc^{s} et meum optimum indumentum nomine principal. Item [lego VI ?] libras cere ad ardendum circa corpus meum die sepulture mee. Item lego 'quadriginta' solidos ad distribuendum pauperibus (misis *) et capellanis celebrantibus missas pro anima mea. Item lego quinque marcas ad expendendum circa corpus meum die obitus mei. Item lego meum optimum lectum de nigro cum tapete et silesio ac cum una camera ejusdem secte et cum les curteyns ejusdem lecti Idonee Sandeford si me supervixerit, et si non supervixerit me quod predictum lectum cum camera prout supradicta est 'vendantur' et denaria inde recepta distribuantur pro anima mea. Item volo quod totum pannum tam lineum quam laneum simul cum omnibus aliis lectis meis vendantur et distribuantur pro anima mea secundum discretionem executorum meorum. Item lego matri Roberti Brette omnes togas meas et meas keverchiefs et duas tunicas meas si me supervixerit, et si non me supervixerit quod vendantur et distribuantur pro anima mea. Item volo quod una pecia argenti cum cooperculo argenteo quod Magister Sti Leonardi de Leyc' habeat si me supervixerit et si non supervixerit me quod predicta pecia cum cooperculo argenteo vendatur et distribuatur pro anima mea et pro anima dicti Magistri. Item lego Johanne filie mee unam peciam argenti sine cooperculo

* Erased ?

si Idonea Sandeford moriatur, proviso semper quod si predicta Idonea Sandeford me supervixerit quod ipsa habeat. Item lego predicte Idonee omnes cistas meas et omnes petras pretiosas vocatas perles et alias petras pretiosas si me supervixerit, et si ipsa moriatur volo quod Johanna filia mea habebit predictas cistas et petras pretiosas. Item volo quod meum optimum mantellum fiat meum principal et quod meum secundum mantellum fiat matri Roberti Brette et quod meum tertium mantellum fiat Johanne filie mee. Item volo quod Robertus Sandford heres meus habeat illas octo bovatas terre et medietatem molendini in Ascombe que nuper pater meus emit de Hugone de Louther sub tali conditione quod predictus Robertus inveniat bonum capellanum ad celebrandum missas pro anima patris mei et antecessorum meorum in capella Ste Marie de Ascome, et si inveniat quandam distributionem X solidorum pro anima patris predicti Roberti et antecessorum suorum, quod si predictus Robertus ista facere noluerit quod extunc predicte octo bovate terre et medietas molendini vendantur et quod denaria inde reperta ponantur ad usum inveniendi unum capellanum et ad faciendum distributionem superius dictam. Residuum vero bonorum meorum do et [lego] executoribus meis ut ipsi distribuant dicta pro anima mea prout eis melius videbitur. Et ad istud testamentum bene et fideliter exequend[um] . . . . . Johem Pukwell Johem York capellan . . . . . vicarium ecclesie Sti Petri Leyc' et Johem Mael . . . . . In cujus rei testimonium presenti testamento sigillum meum apposui dat. die et anno supradictis.

Belonging to this, is the following charter ; imperfect :—

[Sciant pre]sentes et futuri quod nos Robertus Isam de Pucheley et Robertus Brette dedimus et concessimus et hac presenti carta [confirmavimus omnia terras tenementa] redditus reversiones et servitia in comitatu Westmerlande que nuper habuimus ex dono et feoffamento . . . . [hab]endum et tenendum omnia predicta terras tenementa redditus et servitia cum suis pertinentiis prout supradictum est predicto [Roberto] de dominis feodi illius per servitia inde debita et de jure consueta. In cujus rei testimonium huic presenti carte sigilla nostra apposuimus [Hiis testibus] Barton Thoma atte Halle Willo Oxford et multis aliis. Dat. ultimo die Aprilis anno regni Regis Henrici V^ti^ post conquestum Anglie [IX°].

Endorsed in 17th century hand : " Hen. 5th 9th.

Also endorsed in 18th century hand :

"Robert Isam de Pulkley et Rob' Brace . . . . . the rest torn but I conjecture the donee was Robert Sandford the grandson and heir of Idonea Oughtred since this Brace was one of her executours and Puthley and Isam are towns in the neighbourhood of Cranesley in Northamptonsh. where she dates her will."

[Cransley and Isham are known in Northants. Pulkley I do not know.—F.W.R.].

PROVISIONS OF IDONEA SANDFORD'S SECOND WILL, 1420.

To God, the blessed Mary and all Saints she bequeaths her soul. Her body to be buried in St. Peter's church of Leicester,* and her best cloak is her principal †: six pounds of wax (for lights) to be burnt round her body at her funeral: 40s to be used in distribution to the poor and to chaplains for celebrating masses for her soul, and 5 marks for other expenses of the funeral. Her best bed of black with its cover and silesian linen and a "camera" of the same suite and the curtains belonging the bed to go to Idonea Sandford her daughter, if she survived her; if she did not, these were to be sold and the money received, distributed for her soul's good. All woollen and linen furnishings and all her other beds to be sold and distribution made for her soul's good according to the discretion of her executors. To the mother of Robert Brette ‡ she leaves all her gowns and kerchiefs and two coats if she survived her: if she did not these were to be sold for the good of her soul. A piece of silver with a silver cover which the Master of St. Leonard's hospital of Leicester has, to be his if he survived her: if not it was to be sold for the good of her soul and his. Her daughter Joan to have a piece of silver which had no cover, if Idonea did not survive her; Idonea, if she did survive her. Idonea to have all her caskets and all the precious stones called pearls and all other her precious stones. Her best mantle to be (as before) her principal, her second best to go to Robert Brette's mother, and her third to her daughter Joan.§ Robert Sandford her heir to have the eight bovates and moiety of the mill in Askham which her father bought of Hugh de Lowther on condition that he finds a good chaplain to celebrate masses for the soul of her father and her ancestors in the chapel

* A church now demolished and the parish with two others merged in All Saints.

† Chief mortuary gift.

‡ Son of Robert Brette of the former will.

§ This appears to be a slip. Robert Brette's mother was Joan.

of St. Mary of Askham and keeps up a distribution of 10s for the soul of his father and his ancestors. If he does not do this, the bovates and the moiety of the mill were to be sold and the proceeds devoted to providing a chaplain and carrying out the distribution. The remainder of what was hers to be distributed as her executors thought best for her soul's good.

Digest of the charter of Robert Is(h)am and Robert Brette. They handed over to [Robert Sandford] all lands, tenements, rents, reversions and services, which were theirs by the gift of [ ] for him to hold of the chief lords by the usual services. That is they put him in seisin of his inheritance of Askham.

IV.—Award about the Sandford and Salkeld Disputes: 4 May, 1477.

This indentur made at Zhanwyth the fourth day of May in the zher of the reygn of Kyng Edward the iiiith after the conquest of Yngland xvij wytnes yt wher certen wariaunce and dyscord of lang tym has beyn mevyd and had be twyx Thomas of Sandford of Askom, squeher, his brether, frendis tenands and servants upon the ton partye & John of Salkeld of Golber squeher late desseset, his brether, his sonns, frends tenands and servants appon the todyr parte for the whilke wariaunce and all other mevet be twyx the parteis a for sayde fro the begynnyg of the ward * to ye daye of the present wrytyng exceptyng for a place in Mesande that stands in variaunce betwyx the sayd Thomas of Sandfourd and Anne the wyfe of the sayd John of Salkeld and How of Salkeld hyr son for the ryght and the clame of the whylke place the parteis a forseyd are boundyn to abyd the ordenaunce dome and award of Sir Launslet Threlkeld knyght, the seyd parteys hase fundyn suffisant surte by ther several obligacons of 100£ to abyd the ordinance dome and awarde of us Sir Lanslot Threlkeld knight Richerd Hoton of Hoton Rufe and Willm of Loncastrer of Emot bryghe jentylmen, querapon we the sayd Sir Launslot, Richard and Willm has cald a for us bothe the sayd parteis and wel consavyd and onderstand ther complantis answers and excusatones the whylk by us wel consavyd herd and onderstand[ed], ordanys demys and awards in the furme that after folowis that is to saye that the parteis afforsayd [on] and oder of them be trew and fule frends for all materys of grewans don afor the date herof also we award the said Thomas

* For "warld."

Sandford therby to be dischargyd of al maner of payments be for to hym awardit to paye a fore the dayte of the present wrytyng to the sayd John of Salkeld or to any of his frends tenands or servants, also we award the said Thomas of Sandford to content and satisfye upon his awn proper coste as it plese hym al hys frends tenands and servants or oders hym belongyng for any hurt or hurts as wel dede of men mayns as other do unto theym be the sayd John of Salkeld or any other of his parte for his maters, also we award Anne the wyfe of the sayd John of Salkeld his brether his son his tenands and servants to content and satisfy of their awne proper coste, as it plese them al the frends tenands and servants or odyr there belongyng for any hurte or hurtys don to them as well mene dede manys as oder by the sayd Thomas of Sandfourd and his partie for his maters, and for so mekyl we understand diverse and gret hurtys done unto the sayd Thomas of Sandfurd and to his parte by the sayd John of Salkeld of Golber and his parte the wylke was never as yet corectit ne amendit by the said John ne no nother on his parte ne hym belongyng, therfor we order deym and awarde Anne his wyfe his brether his sonnes his tenands and servants to pay or make to be payt unto the said Thomas of Sandfourd or to his assygnes £10 of lawful money of Yngland that is to saye at our Lady day ye assumpton next comyng after the date herof 5 marks and at the Assumpton of our Lady the nexte folowyng 5 marks in full contentaton and satisfaction of al hurts and grievaunce done afor. Gevyn under our Selys daye and yere aboun sayd.

Endorsed—17 Ed. IV., 127.

V.—Inquisitio Post Mortem Chancery Series 2, Vol. 140. no. 195. Abstract. Thomas Sandfurthe Deceased.

Taken at Shapp 26 Sept., 6 Elizab. (1564) by Alan Bellingeham and others Commissioners. The jury Henry Crackenthropp, Esq., Geo. Salkelde, Tho. Hilton, Edwd Byrkbek, Miles Skayffe, Robt Skayffe, Robert Berton, Reginald Dobson, Henry Browham, John Herteley, John Baynebrigge, Christof. Baynebrigge, gentlemen, stated on oath that Tho. Sandfurthe died seised in demesne as of fee of the manor and rectory of Ascome and the tithes of grain and hay and the advowson of the Vicarage, also of a moiety of the manor of Hilton Flekham, with a park there called Setteroo parke, of a moiety of the tithes of grain and hay of Hilton Flekham parcel of the rectory of Ascom, also of the manor of Little

Assebye and 3 messuages in Gt. Assebye* ; also of a moiety of the manor of Knype and of 3 messuages in Banton called Measande and of one messuage in Banton called Cawdell † and of 6 messuages called Banton Skewes and of 5 messuages in Banton called Butterwykke and of one water grain mill there called Bekfoote milne and of one messuage in Barton. Also of the grange of Milneburne purchased of William Foorde in 1544 formerly belonging to Shapp Abbey. This manor transferred to him and Grace his wife and his heirs and assigns together with a messuage in Dufton ; to him as of fee and to Grace as of free tenement : and by a deed of 27 November 1563 he granted these two " at ferm " to Richard Sandfurthe his younger son to have and to hold for 60 years after the death of Grace, Richard's mother, paying to Thomas his and her eldest son and his heirs 5s yearly. Grace, they stated, was still living and held the Grange and the Dufton messuage. Also they stated that Thomas Sandfurth made a will on 20 Oct., 1563 wherein he left to Richard his " watter coorne milne called ye Bekfoote milne " of the yearly value of 40s and his lands and tenements in Measande val. 28s, three tenements in Mikill Asseby val. 30s, one tenement in Barton (held by John Dawson) val. 7s 8d yearly, one tenement in Banton Skewes called Cawdell val. 10s 8d, one other held by Wm. Whitehede, 6s 8d, and one by Wm. Yates 8s : these were to be held by Richard during the life of Grace his mother but the usual services were to be paid to Thomas and his heirs. After the death of Grace, Richard was to have Little Asseby during his life. Grace for her jointure or dowry (one-third) was to have the manor of Little Asseby, the tithe corn and sheaves of Ascome (except from the demesne) and the full third of all his other manors, and his lease of the herbage of Lownethwayte, and was to have " lodging " at Ascome Hall. The residue of his manors &c. and the reversion of the manors granted to Grace and Richard, after 60 years, were to go to Thomas and his heirs—remainder in case of failure in turn to the younger brothers of Thomas—Henry, Richard and Edmund and their heirs, and last to the testator's right heirs. The manors of Ascom, Hilton, Knype and Little Asseby and the tenements in Banton were held of Henry Earl of Cumberland by military service : Ascom val. £20 yearly Saterhoo Park £6 13s. 4d. the rest of the moiety of Hilton £10 2s. 2d.

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* Occupied by John Rolandson, Nicholas Rolandson and Nicholas Robertson.

† Occupied by John Wuys.

the moiety of Knype £3 7s. 4d.; Little Asseby £13, the other tenements above 59s and Butterwyke over and above the mill £3 5s. 8d. all held of the Earl. The rectory of Ascom and Milburn Grange held of the Queen in chief by military service, the messuages in Gt. Asseby of Anthony Knype, the messuage in Berton held of Ld Dacre as of his manor of Berton by suit of court. He died 4 Jany 6 Eliz. (1564): his son Thomas aged 26 and more was his heir.

VI.—Inquisitio Post Mortem. Court of Wards and Liveries Vol. 15, no. 55 and Chancery Series 2 Vol. 167 no. 111 (abstract).

Thomas Sandfurthe Deceased.

Held at Shap 5 Oct., 16 Eliz. (1574) by Alan Bellingham and Henry Crakenthorpe esquires and Tho. Braythewayte gentleman Commissioners. The jury, Lancelot Puckeringe, Esq., Edmund Dudley, Geo. Salkeld, John Wharton, [ ] Machell, Tho. Wiber, Geo. Hudson, Henry Backus, Nicholas Lowghe, Edmund* Sandfurthe, Ambrose Lancaster, John (or Jenkin) [ ], [ ] Backus, John Crakenthroppe, Miles Skaife, Peter Browham, Hugh Warcopp, Robt Skayfe and Barnaby Machell, gentlemen, stated on oath that Thomas Sandfurthe was seised in demesne as of fee of the manor and the tithes of grain and hay of Ascome and of the advowson of the vicarage: of a moiety of the manor of Hilton Flekehame, with Sattero parke and a parcel of land called Parkland and a close called Stockwathe: of a moiety of the tithes of grain and hay of Hilton Flekehame, of four messuages belonging to the manor of Hilton in Hilton dale in Banton (John Holme, Thomas Langhorne, John Wilkenson and Edmund Holme, occupants); three in Measande in Banton (Hugh Bowman, Thomas Hudson and Roger Salkeld, occupants); 8 in Banton Skewes (John Whiteheade, John Jackson, Hugh Noble, John Noble, Hugh Yate, John Yate, Willm. Yate and John Denyson occupants); three in Butterwicke (Edmund Noble, Hugh Langhorne and John Sutton, occupants); one and a mill at Beckfote (Henry Langhorne): four messuages in Gt. Aseby, one in Barton and one in Dufton; of a moiety of the manor of Knipe; and of the reversion of the manor of Little Aseby after the death of Richard Sandfurthe his brother who held it for life

* This would not be his brother Edmund, but a more distant relative, Edmund of Helton, who had a brother John (Lowther documents) living in 1564.

free of rent; of the reversion of Milneburne grange after 60 years for which 5s was paid yearly; and that Thomas Sandfurthe so seised, granted by charter to John Middleton, gentleman, all his part in the manor of Hilton Flekeham called Settero parke and "le Parkland" and the wooded close called Stockwathe, the messuage in Banton and Butterwick and the Beckfote Mill and the messuages in Gt. Asseby, and all the tithes and sheaves of Ascome (those of the demesne excepted) and common of turbary and pasture in Hilton, unto him and his heirs for the use of Anne Sandfurthe his wife for her jointure (17 Aug., 8 Eliz. 1566) * Of all these he had been seised by a charter of 27 Hen. VIII.; and they stated that Anne was still living, that Tho. Sandfurthe also in 1570 by charter and Final Concord granted the advowson of Ascom for the first two vacancies to John Middleton. Also that Tho. Sandfurthe made a will whereby he was to be buried at Ascome where his father and mother lie, his cousin "Mr." Humfray Musgrave and his brother Richd. Sandfurthe were to have his chief messuage at Ascome and all his demesne lands and closes and tithes and the tithes and sheaves of Hilton and so much more of his lands at Ascome as amounted to two parts till his son Thomas came of age, to pay his debts therefrom (12 June, 1571—13 Eliz.), The manor of Ascome (worth £20 yearly) they stated was held of Anne Countess of Cumberland by military service: the tithes of Ascome and Hilton (worth £6 13s. 4d. yearly) and the reversion of Milburne Grange (Lancelot Langhorne occupier) worth £7 (after 60 years) were held of the Queen in chief, by military service. The advowson of Ascome was worth nothing. The moiety of Hilton (£8) and the park of Sattero with its close (£6 13s. 4d.); the messuages in Hilton dale (47s 2d); the messuages in Measand (28s); the messuages in Banton Skewes (£3 1s. 5d); the messuage in Butterwicke (12s 2d) the messuage with mill at Beckefote (5s †)—all held of the Countess: the messuage in Gt. Asseby held of Anthony Knipe in socage (30s); and the messuage in Barton of the manor of Barton in socage (7s): the moiety of the manor of Knipe held of the Countess by military service (£3 7s. 8d.). The manor of Little Asseby (when it reverts) worth £130 4s. held also of the Countess. Thomas Sandfurthe died 1 July, 16 Elizab. (1574) and Thomas Sandfurthe his next heir was aged 9 years and 1 month.

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* Married to John Middleton after the death of Thomas Sandford.

† Apart from the value of the mill apparently.

VII.—Deed of Anne Sandford (born Hutton) widow: 9 Jany., 1576.

To all Christian people to whome this present writinge Indented shall come to be seen red hard or understanded Anne Sandfurth of Askhame in the Countie of Westmorland, widdowe, sendeth greting in oure Lord God everlastinge; Know ye me the said Anne Sandfurthe for divers and sundrie causes me movinge, and specially for the good love and naturall affection that I beare to my deare and naturall sonne Thomas Sandfourth of Askhame afforesaid have geven and granted and by these presents do give and grant to my said sonne Thomas Sandfurthe and to Alan Bellingham, Humfray Musgrave and Richard Sandfurth esquires to the onely use and behoffe of the said Thomas Sandfurthe the custodie wardship and marriage of the said Thomas Sandfurth *: To that intent that the said Thomas Sandfurth shall and may at his frewill and pleasure have his mariage frelie to be made and chosen by hymself and the commodetes and valewe he can mak of the same, so that in matchynge hymselff he do it orderlie and tak therein the advice and councell of me ye said Anne Sandfurth his mother yf I be levinge at the tyme of his said marriage, whereby the same may be made for his good and my frendshep. Otherwise the same to be made at his frewill and election. And whereas Thomas Sandfurth late of Askham deceased late husband to me the said Anne Sandfurth and father to the said Thomas Sandfurth did by his last will and testament give and graunt two parts of his lands to his deare freinds the said Humfray Musgrave and his brother Richard Sandfurthe esquires duringe the minoretie of his said sone, which two parts the Quenes part in right of his said sonne and the joynture of me the said Anne Sandfurth allowed doth amount yerely to the somme of Fivetene pounds, I the said Anne Sandfurth do by thes presents covenant and grant for me myne executors and administrators and assignes to and withe the said Alan Bellingham Humfray Musgrave and Richard Sandfurthe and to and with everie of them theire heires executors and assynes that I the said Anne Sandfurth myne executors or assynes shall during all the said mynoretie and none age of my said sonne pay and bestowe or cause to be paid and bestowed the said somme of

* The custody and marriage must have been purchased by her from the Cliffords, or she could not grant it. That of Thomas, son and heir of Edmund his grandfather, had been sold by Thomas Clifford to Christopher Dacre for 100 marks. Dodsworth gives this.

Fivetene pounds yarely upon beweldinge and fyneshinge of the newe house at Askhame begune by the said Thomas Sandfurth my said late husband and upon other newe works necessarie to be done about the said howse of Askhame, and for the surplusaige thereof yf any there be to make a just accompt of the same to my said sonne at his full aige of 21 yeares. And then shall pay or cause to be paied to my said sonne the surplusage of the same remayning then not bestowed as is aforesaid to the use and commodetie of my said sonne, and further I the said Anne Sandfurthe do covenant and graunt me myne executors administrators and assignes to and with the said Alan Bellingham Humfray Musgrave and Richard Sandfurth and to and with everie of them theire heires executors and assignes that I the said Anne Sandfurth my executors or assignes shall give grant assure and deliver to my said sonne Thomas Sandfurth at his full age of 21 years such or so muche goods in all kynds and sorts in effect " * as Thomas Sandfurth my husband had at the tyme of his death " as particulerlie doth followe, that is to wete A chaine of gowld, two silver salts, twentie and thre silver spouns, two pewter salts wth all suche implements in ye buterie as is nowe at this daie furnished. Item tenne fedder bedds tenne bowesters and pillowes tenne pillowbers † thirtie and six blankets twentie coverlets six mattrases and canvas bedds, six bowesters six happings ‡ fortie and eight shetes ffower table coverings five cupbord clothes fower bed teesters § six bed curtings one diaper bord clothe ‖ thre diaper napkins eight lynninge tableclothes, six cupbord clothes fortie and eight napkins six towels six sewed qwissyons ¶ twelve carpet qwissyons six spets ** thre braspots two caldrens thre ketles six pannes two cresshets†† one frienge panne two rost irons two garnishe ‡‡ of pewter vessell. Item wood vessell of all sorts necessaire to begynne howse w^t^all. Item all maner of bedstocks cupbordes formes stoles buffets and twoo counters. Item newe leads for brewinge withe all implements necessarie in the brewhouse. Item so muche husbandrie geare and furneture

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* This clause apparently erased.
† Pillow-cases.
‡ Coarse coverlets.
§ Fixed and tall bedheads.
‖ Table cloth.
¶ Cushions.
** Spits for roasting.
†† Open lamps.
‡‡ Services of 12.

as is about the howse of Askham at the daie of the date hereof. Item twentie and four oxen twentie kyne one bull twentie calves two geldings two naggs one hundreth weddershepe one hundreth ewes one hundrethe lames. And further I the said Anne Sandfurth do covenant and graunt for me myne executors administrators and assignes to and wth the said Alan Bellingham Humfray Musgrave and Richard Sandfurth and to and with everie of them their heirs executors and assignes by thes presents that the said Thomas Sandfurth my said sonne shall have all the holl crops of corne y^t^ shalbe growinge of his demayne of Askhame y^t^ yeare he shalbe of his full aige of 21 yeares. And that I the said Anne Sandfurth my executors administrators or assignes shall cause the same to be reaped and gotten in to the barne to and for the use of my said sonne at the chargis of me the said Anne Sandfurth my executors administrators or assignes so that the said Thomas Sandfurth my sonne wilbe contented y^t^ I the said Anne Sandfurth and my hole househould shalbe and remayne at his howse at Askham duryng the same reapings and gettings and until ye feast daie of Saint Martin ye bishopp in wynter next after the same. And further I the said Anne Sandfurth do covenant and graunt for me my executors administrators and assignes to and with ye said Alan Bellingham Humfray Musgrave and Richard Sandfurth and everie of them theire heires executors and assignes by thes presents that ye said Thomas Sandfurth my sonne shall have assewred unto hym at hys said full age the holl interest title leas and tearme wh. shalbe then unexpyred of one farme in Wensleddall which I the said Anne Sandfurth toke of the Quenes Matie for tearme of many yeares yeat to come. And also of a messuage land and tenement lyeinge and beinge in Butterwick in the said countie of Westmerland which I the said Anne Sandfurth lately purchased to me and myne heires of ye annuall and yearely rent of 56s. to have and to hold ye said messuage land and tenement in Butterwick aforesaid w^t^ holl it appurtuntz to the said Thomas Sandfurthe my sonne and to his heires and assignes to the proper use and behoffe of the said Thomas Sandfurth and his heires and assignes for ever. And to have and to holde the said ferme and tenement in Wen sledale w^t^ it appurtenaunts during all such tearme and yeares as shalbe then unexpyred to my said sonne Thomas Sandfurthe his executors and assignes. The said Thomas permittinge me ye said Anne Sandfurth to have lybertie for my somerfeast for my cattall by the right of the same tenement in Wensledale to remayne to his right heires and occupiers of the howse of Askham

duringe the leas and tearme wh. shalbe then unexpired. And the said messuage land and tenement in Butterwick to remayne likewise to the right Inheritors and occupiers of the said howse of Askhame and to theire heires to the use and behouffe of the said inheritours for ever. Provided alwaise y^t^ if my said sonne Thomas Sandfurth do fortune to die before he come to his full aige of 21 years that then all the said goods and chattalls before by me the said Anne Sandfurth covenanted to be geven and graunted to the said Thomas Sandfurth my said sonne as is aforesaid shall remayne revert or come to me the said Anne Sandfurth and to myne executor: thes lands tenements goods and chattals here after mentyoned onely excepted, that is to wete ye said farme in Wensledale and the said land and tenement in Butterwick, one draught of oxen wth convenient furniture and husbandry geare for ye same, tenne kyne, 40 ewes and so muche howshold stuff as Graice Sandfurth late mother in lawe to me the said Anne left to my said husband w^t^ all heirelomes of right duwe all wch lands and tenements in Butterwick in Wensledale and the said draught of oxen w^t^ furniture and husbandrie geare, tenne kyne fourty ewes and so muche houshould stuff as the said Graice Sandfurth lafte to my said late husband I the said Anne Sandfurth do by thes presents covenant and grant for me my executors and administrators to and with the said Alan Bellingham Humfray Musgrave and Richard Sandfurth theire heires executors or assignes shalbe then geven granted and assured by me the said Anne Sandfurth my heires executors or assignes to my brother in lawe Henrie Sandfurth and to his heires executors and assignes for ever, in consideration of ye good will and favour that I beare to the said howse of Askhame. In wytness whereof to the one part of thes indentures remayning w^t^ ye said Alan Bellingham Humfray Musgrave and Richard Sandfurth I the said Anne Sandfurth have set to my seale and subscribed my name and to the other parte of thes indentures remayning w^t^ me the said Anne Sandfurth the said Alan Bellingham Humfray Musgrave and Richard Sandfurth have set to theire seals and subscribed y^r^ names. Geven ye 9th day of January in the 18th yeare of the reigne of o^r^ soveraigne Ladie Elizabeth by ye grace of God of England Fraunce and Ireland Quene, defender of the faith.

An endorsement remains where the seals were of signatures

Alan m.

Musgrave.

ard Sandfurthe.

also endorsed "sealed and delivered the day and year w^tin written in the presens of us. Thomas Hutton, Edward Lancastr. Edmund Dudley Antoni Middelton George Porter (?) George Hudson Martin Gilpin John Langhorne and 191, 9 Jan., 18 Elizab.

VIII.—Covenant of Sale between Thomas Sandford of Askham and Richard Sandford of Howgill: 30 July, 1589.

This indenture made the thirtyeth day of July in the 31° yeare of the reigne of our soveraigne lady Elizabeth by the grace of God Quene of England France and Ireland defender of the fayth, &c. Betwene Thomas Sandfurth of Askum in the County of Westmorland Esquier on thone partye and Richard Sandeforth of Howgyll in the sayd County Esquier on thother partye wytnesseth that the said Thomas Sandforth for and in consideracion of the somme of two hundred poundes of lawful English money to him before thensealing and deliverye of these presents well and truly payed by the sayd Richard Sandforth whereof he acknowlegeth himself fully satysfyed contented and payed and of the same and of every part and parcel thereof doeth thereby acquyte and discharge the said Richard Sandforth his heires executors and administrators and every of them by these presents hathe given granted bargayned and sold and by these presents doeth give graunt bargayne and sell unto the said Richard Sandforth his heires and assignes all that the mannour lordshipp or graunge commonly called Milburne Graunge w^thin the County of Westmerland and all messuages houses edificyes buyldings orchards gardens tofts crofts lands tenements and heredytaments in the townes of Milburne Milburne Graunge and Howgill in the County of Westmerland sometymes to the late dissolved Abathye of Shapp in the said County of Westmerland belonging together with all meadowes closes pastures feding commons commons of pasture woods underwoods waters fishings water courses milnes moores marshes wastes inclosures turbaryes ling broome rents reversions services courts perquisites and proofytts of Courts. being or accounted reputed or taken to be parte parcel or member of the sayd mannor lordshipp or graunge called Milburne graunge, or demysed sett lett or occupyed as parte or parcell of the same or as belongyng or apperteyning to the same or any part thereof one tenement w^t thappurtenanc(e)s in Dufton in the occupation of Christofer Langhorne onelye excepted. And allso all and all manner of dedes courte rolles evydences escrips minyments

counterpaynes of leases and wrytyngs whatsoever wch doe containe onely the sayd mannor lordship or graunge called Milburne graunge and premisses or any parte or parcell thereof onely. To have and to hold the sayd mannor lordshipp or graunge called Milburn graunge and all other the premisess with theire appurtenances except as before excepted to the sayd Richard Sandforth his heires and assignees for ever to the onely use and behoofe of the said Richard Sandforth his heires and assignes for ever. And the sayd Thomas Sandforth for himselfe his heires executors and administrators doeth by these presents covenant and graunt to and with the sayd Richard Sandforth his heires executors and administrators that the said mannor lordshipp or graunge called Milburne graunge and all and singular the premysses wt there appurtenances before by these presents bargayned and sold or mencyoned to be bargayned and sold except ye preexcepted now are and at all times here after shall and may contynew and be clere and clerely acquyted exonerated and discharged or otherwyse upon reasonable notice and request to be given and made by the sayd Richard Sandforth his heires or assignees to the sayd Thomas Sandforth his heires executors or administrators from tyme to tyme sufficiently saved harmless of and from all former guyfts graunts barganes sales leasses joyntures dowers annuityes wylles tytles sayles statuts merchant and of the staple recognizances recoveryes judgements operations condemnations lymitations of uses intrusions ffynes forfeitures fynes for alienacions wthout lycences rents arrerages of rents fynes for respect of homage and of and from all other charges and incumbrances whatsoever heretofore had, made done or suffred by the sayd Thomas Sandforth or any other person or persons by or under the sayd Thomas Sandforth ; one lease of the premysses heretofore made by Thomas Sandforth grandfather to the aforesaid Thomas Sandforthe unto the said Richard Sandforthe (the interest of wch lease the said Richard Sandforth hath before thensealing of the presents assigned and sett over unto one Richard Sandforthe his sonne) for certain yeares yet enduring and the rents customes and services hereafter to be dew to the lord of the fee or fees of the premisses onely foreprysed and excepted. And further the sayd Thomas Sandforth for himself his heires executors and administrators doeth by these presents covenant and graunt to and with the sayd Richard Sandforth his heires executors and administrators that he the sayd Thomas Sandforth and Martha his wife and theire heires shall and will at all tymes during the space of two yeares next ensuing the

date of these presents at and upon reasonable request to be made to the sayd Thomas Sandforth or his heires by the said Richard Sandforth his heires executors administrators or assignes and at thonely costs and charges in the law of the said Richard Sandforth his heires and assignees doe make knowledge suffer execute all and every suet further lawfull and reasonable act and acts thing and things assurance and assurances whatsoever wth warrantye onely against the said Thomas Sandforthe and his heires or els w^{t}hout warrantye for the better assuring conveying and sure making of all and every the premisses w^{t} thappurtenances by these presents given granted bargayned and sold or mencyoned to be given graunted bargayned and sold unto the sayd Richard Sandforth his heires and assignees to his and theire onely use except before excepted. Be yt by ffyne feoffment recoverye w^{t} single or double voucher dede or dedes enrolled inrolment of these presents release or confirmacion w^{t} warrantye onely as aforesayd or otherwyse w^{t}hout warrantye or by all or so many of the said meanes or wayes as by the counsell learned in the lawe of the sayd Richard his heires or assignees shalbe reasonably devysed or advysed. So that for the doeing making or executing thereof the sayd Thomas Sandforthe and Martha his wyfe nor his heires be not compelled to travell forth of the countye of Westmerland or forth of the countye where he or they shalbe resydent at the tyme of such request to be made. In wytnesse whereof eyther of the sayd partyes abovesayd to these present indentures have interchangeably sette there hands and seales the day and yeare first above wrytten.

Endorsed 194 31 Eliz. Memorandum in the premisses of thindenture these words 'one tenement with thapp'tenance in Duftoune in thoccupacon of Christofer Langhorne onelye excepted' and in thre places of the same indenture after the habendum thes words 'except before excepted' were interlyned before the sealing and delyvering hereof and read sealed signed and delyvered in the presence of us John Middleton Edmund Dudley Willm Hutton Richard Hutton 1589.

"A counterparte of the Dede concerning Milburn Graing."

IX.—Inquisitio post mortem held 15 April 7 Car. I., 1631, after the death of John Sandford (extracts).

The commissioners were Sir William Musgrave, William Pennington, Leonard Dikes and Richard Fallowfield, Esquires. The jury were Christopher Lancaster, Esqr, Humphrey Wharton gentleman, Milo Scafe gentleman, Richard Washington, John

Davies, Henry Backhouse, John Bradley, Richard Smith, James Bird, Thomas Hewer, Michael Robinson, Thomas Jackson, Richard Borowbanck and John Barbon, yeoman. Their statement on oath was this :—

Quod diu ante predictus Johannes Sandford fuit seisitus de aliquibus terris . . . quidam Thomas Sandford armiger proavus predicti Johannis fuit seisitus in dominico suo ut de feodo . . . de advocatione ecclesie de Askham ac de medietate . . . manerii de Helton Flecan . . . ac de medietate . . . decimarum garbarum granorum et feni in Helton Flecan . . . et de . Satoray parke in dominico suo ut de feodo . . . et sic . . .seisitus existens per testamentum et ultimam voluntatem . . . gerentem datum 7 Feb., 1563, dedit predicta terras, &c., et hereditamenta et reversiones omnium tenementorum quorumcunque . . . Thome Sandford filio et heredi suo et avo . . . Johannis et heredibus suis masculis . . . et pro defectu talis exitus tunc remanere Henrico Sandford filio suo secundo . . . cum diversis aliis remaneriis, et predictus Thomas proavus predicti Johannis . . . obiit, post cujus mortem Thomas Sandford filius et heres suus et avus predicti Johannis intravit in . . . terras, &c. . . . et fuit inde seisitus in dominico suo ut de feodo taliato sibi et heredibus, &c., virtute voluntatis predicte . . . et obiit sic seisitus, post cujus mortem Thomas Sandford filius et heres suus et pater predicti Johannis . . . seisitus, per indenturam suam gerentem datum 10° die Martii anno de [1589] inter predictum Thomam Sandford ex una parte et Johannem Middleton de Carliele . . . armigerum et Robertum Wetherington de Plesley in Comitatu Northumbrie generosos ex altera parte . . . dedit concessit et 'donneavit' eisdem . . . et heredibus eorum . . . parcellam terre vocatam Satoray parke et quatuor messuagia et tenementa in Heltondale . . . que omnia sunt de annuali redditu de 42 libris 7 solidis at 2 denariis . . . ad usum predicti Thome patris predicti Johannis et Marthe uxoris . . . pro termino vitarum predictorum Thome et Marthe et eorum diutius viventis, et post mortem predicti Thome et Marthe tunc ad usum heredum masculorum predicti Thome . . . virtute cujus . . . Thomas et Martha intraverunt et fuerunt seisiti pro termino vitarum, &c. et jurati . . . ulterius dicunt quod predictus Thomas pater Johannis per indenturam . . . datum gerentem 13 Aprilis 1597 . . . factam inter Thomam Sandford ex una parte et Rad. Ashton et Johannem Townley filium et heredem apparentem Bernardi Townley de Heretwood in comitatu Lancas. . . . ex altera parte demisit et concessit prefato Radulfo Ashton

et Johanni Townley, &c. totum manerium de Askham . . . et omnia messuagia terras et tenementa et hereditamenta in Askham et Helton Flecan predictaque tenementa et hereditamenta predicti Thome patris vel predicti Thome proavi, exceptis messuagiis terris tenementis et hereditamentis in Helton Flecan . . . que fuerunt covenantia pro junctura predicte Marthe . . . habendo et tenendo Radulpho Ashton et Johanni Townley executoribus et assignatis eorum pro et durante termino octaginta annorum proxime et immediate sequentium datum predicte indenture . . . si Richardus Townley filius et heres apparentis Johannis Townley de Townley et Jana, uxor predicti Richardi aut alter eorum tam diu vixerit, que quidem Jana superstes et adhuc in plena vita existit, virtute cujus indenture . . . Radulphus Ashton et Johannes Townley fuerunt possessionati de premissis pro et durante termino predicto . . . et postea viz 27° die Septembris anno regni domini nostri Caroli nunc regis sexto (27 Sept., 1630) obiit seisitus in dominico suo ut de feodo taliato de medietate . . . manerii de Helton Flecan et parco Sateray ac de reversione manerii de Askham post terminum predictum finitum, post cujus mortem Johannes filius et heres predicti Thome intravit . . . in decimas granorum, &c. medietatis manerii de Helton . . . predicti, predicto termino octaginta annorum nondum finito, et fuit seisitus de medietate manerii de Helton Flecan in dominico suo ut de feodo taliato . . . et de manerio de Askham sibi et heredibus suis in dominico suo ut de feodo et sic seisitus Johannes per indenturam suam gerentem datum 22° die Augusti anno regni domini nostri Caroli nunc regis primo (22 Aug., 1625) factam inter predictum Johannem Sandford ex una parte et Richardum Sandford de Howgill in Comitatu Westmerland militem ex altera parte pro et in consideratione 270 librarum legitime monete Anglie barganavit vendidit dedit et concessit prefato Richardo Sandford totum illud manerium de Askham cum pertinentiis, habendum . . . prefato Richardo Sandford et heredibus suis . . . et predictus Richardus Sandford per indenturam suam factam inter predictum Richardum ex una parte et Johannem Sandford ex altera parte gerentem datum . . . 22 Aug., 1625, &c. . . . 'coventatum' fuit inter partes predictas quod si predictus Johannes Sandford dein aliquo tempore annorum proximo sequentium faceret solutionem 270 librarum de et in . . . festo St. Johannis Baptiste vel Sti Andree Apostoli . . . apud unam solutionem et servaret omnes conventiones . . . inter partes predictas prout per eandem indenturam plenius liquet quod tunc factum ante per predictum

Johannem de manerio de Askham et indentura barganizationis . . . nihil valeat et quod tunc predictus Johannes staret et remanaret in statu suo predicto . . . et ulterius predictus Richardus per indenturam suam factam . . . 6° die Octobris anno regni regis Caroli nunc 5° (6 Oct., 1629) concessit et dimisit . . . Johanni heredibus et assignatis suis totum illud capitale messuagium vocatum Askham Hall cum omnibus et singulis appurtenantiis ac omnes decimas granorum et feni annuatim crescentes de in vel super terras dominicas et super tenementa custumarium, ac molendinum aquaticum de Askham et quatuor libras redditus vocatas mill-rent habendum . . . predicto Johanni Sandford executoribus et assignatis suis a die datus predicte indenture pro et durante tempore mille annorum proxime et immediate sequentum reddendo inde annuatim durante termino Richardo Sandford heredibus et assignatis suis 20 et 8 libras et 4 solidos . . . super festum Sti Michaelis Archangeli apud Howgill virtute cujus indenture . . . Johannes Sandford fuit 'possessionatus' de premissis predictis pro termino predicto et sic inde possessionatus obiit ac etiam seisitus de medietate manerii de Helton Flacan . . . et de medietate decimarum manerii de Helton Flacan ac de 'remanetia' de parco de Sateray post mortem predicte Marthe de feode taliato . . . cum diversis remaneriis . . . Et jurati ulterius dicunt quod medietas manerii de Helton Flacan tempore mortis Johannis tenebatur de Francisco Comite Cumbrie per servitium militare et valet per annum . . . post demissionem prefati Radulphi Ashton et Johannis Townley finitam £14 4^{s} [?] et . . . parcus de Sateray tenebatur de Francisco Comite Cumbrie per Servitium militare et valet . . . post mortem Marthe £6 et 4^{d}, et . . . medietas decimarum de Helton Flacan et advocatio . . . Vicarie de Askham tenebatur de domino rege in capite et valet . . . post demissionem Radulphi Ashton et Johannis Townley finitam £5. Et ulterius dicunt quod . . . Askham Hall . . . tenebatur de Francisco Comite Cumb. per servitium militare et nihil valet durante termino predicto supra redditus predictos et post terminum finitum valet £28.

Et Thomas Sandford est filius et heres et . . . tempore mortis Johannis fuit etatis duorum annorum et octo mensium aut circiter et Maria Sandford uxor predicti Johannis et Martha Sandford uxor predicti Thome patris adhuc superstites existunt.

They end by saying that John possessed no other lands nor tenements. They do not give, as older Inquisitions give, the date of his death, but we know from the Askham register that he was buried on 28 December, 1630, close on 3 months after his father died.

DIGEST OF THE INQUISITIO POST MORTEM, 15 APRIL, 1631.

Long before John Sandford was seised of any lands Thomas Sandford Esquire, his great-grandfather, was seised in demesne as of fee of the advowson of Askham and a moiety of Helton Flecan and of a moiety of the tithes of sheaves, grain and hay in Helton and of Saterah parke in demesne as of fee; and being in seisin of these, by his last will, 7 Feb., 1563, gave all these and the reversions of all other tenements to Thomas Sandford his son and heir, John's grandfather, and his heirs male, with remainder in default of these to Henry Sandford his second son, and after that to others, if default of heirs happened. After his death Thomas Sandford his son and heir, John's grandfather, entered into possession and was seised in demesne of these by virtue of this will as entailed: next Thomas Sandford his son and heir and father of John was seised in these, and by an indenture of 10 March, 1589, gave to John Middleton of Carlisle and Robert Wetherington of Plesley, Northumberland, the portion of land called Seterah park and 4 messuages and tenements in Heltondale, all together of the value annually of £42 7s. 2d., to be held by them for the use of himself and his wife Martha and given back to them for the term of both lives and the longest liver and the heirs male of himself, by virtue of which Thomas and Martha were seised according to these terms. Also Thomas, John's father, by an indenture of 13 April, 1597, made with Ralph Ashton and John Townley, son and heir apparent of Bernard Townley of Harwood in Lancash., leased to Ralph Ashton and John Townley the whole manor of Askham and all messuages lands and tenements in Askham and Helton and the aforementioned tenements and hereditaments of his father Thomas or the great-grandfather of John, except the messuages lands tenements and hereditaments in Helton Flecan, which were reserved for the jointure of Martha and her husband (himself), to be held by Ralph Ashton and John Townley their executors and assigns for the term of the eighty years next following, if Richard Townley, son and heir apparent of John Townley of Townley, and Jane his wife or either of them lived so long; which Jane was still living: by virtue of which indenture Ralph Ashton and John Townley were placed in possession for that term. And after this, namely on 27 Sept., 1630, Thomas died seised in demesne of fee tail of the moiety of the manor of Helton and the park of Seterah and of the reversion of Askham after the term of lease should expire, and then John his son and heir entered into possession of the tithes of grain and sheaves, &c.

of the moiety of the manor of Helton, the aforesaid term of lease not being expired, and was seised of the moiety of the manor of Helton in demesne as of fee tail and of the manor of Askham for himself and his heirs in demesne as of fee, and being so seised by an indenture made 22 Aug., 1625, with Richard Sandford of Howgill kt. bargained, sold and gave to Richard for £270 the whole of that manor of Askham and its belongings to be held by him and his heirs ; and the aforesaid Richard by indenture on the same day between himself and John Sandford made covenant with him that if John Sandford within a certain time made payment of £270 in one sum, on St. John Baptist's Day or St. Andrew's day and kept the conventions agreed on between them (specified in the indenture but not given in the Inquisition) then the bargain and sale should stand for nothing and John should hold as before. And they further state that Richard Sandford by indenture on 6 Oct., 1629, granted and demised to John and his heirs and assigns the whole of the chief messuage called Askham Hall with all its belongings and all tithes of grain and hay on the demesne lands and on the lands of the customary tenants and the mill of Askham and £4 of mill rent, to be held by them for 1000 years then following ; John and his heirs and assigns paying to him and his heirs and assigns £28 4s. od. at Michaelmas at Howgill, by virtue of which indenture John Sandford was placed in possession of the premises for the term aforesaid and died in possession and also seised of the moiety of the manor of Helton Flecan and of the moiety of the tithes of Helton and of the "remainder" of the park of Seterah after the death of the aforesaid Martha, in fee tail with divers other remainders. And they say further that the moiety of Helton Flecan at the time of John's death was held of Francis, Earl of Cumberland, by military service (cornage) and is worth, after the lease to Ralph Ashton and John Townley ends, £14 4s [?] yearly and Seterah park was held of Francis, Earl of Cumberland, by military service and after Martha's death is worth £6 os. 4d. and the moiety of the tithes of Helton and the advowson of Askham were held of the king in chief and are worth after the lease to Ralph Ashton and John Townley ends £5. And further they say that Askham Hall was held of the same Earl of Cumberland by military service and is worth nothing during the term of the abovesaid lease and after that is ended is worth £28 (yearly). And Thomas Sandford is the son and heir and at his father's death was two years and eight months old or thereabouts ; and Maria Sandford, wife of the aforesaid John, and Martha Sandford, wife of the aforesaid Thomas were still living.

ASKHAM HALL.

Bearings Sandford, Helbeck; badges probably Musgrave and possibly Lancaster, all early and 13th century. Shield brought from pele, probably from over the original doorway, and fixed (broken) in the kitchen wall nearly opposite the 1574 gateway.

Phot. by Col F. Haswell.

TO FACE P. 222.

ASKHAM HALL.

Original doorway to pele in plan (p. 225) marked K.

Phot. by Col. F. Haswell.

TO FACE P. 223.

X.—Askham Hall and the Chapel of St. Mary there.

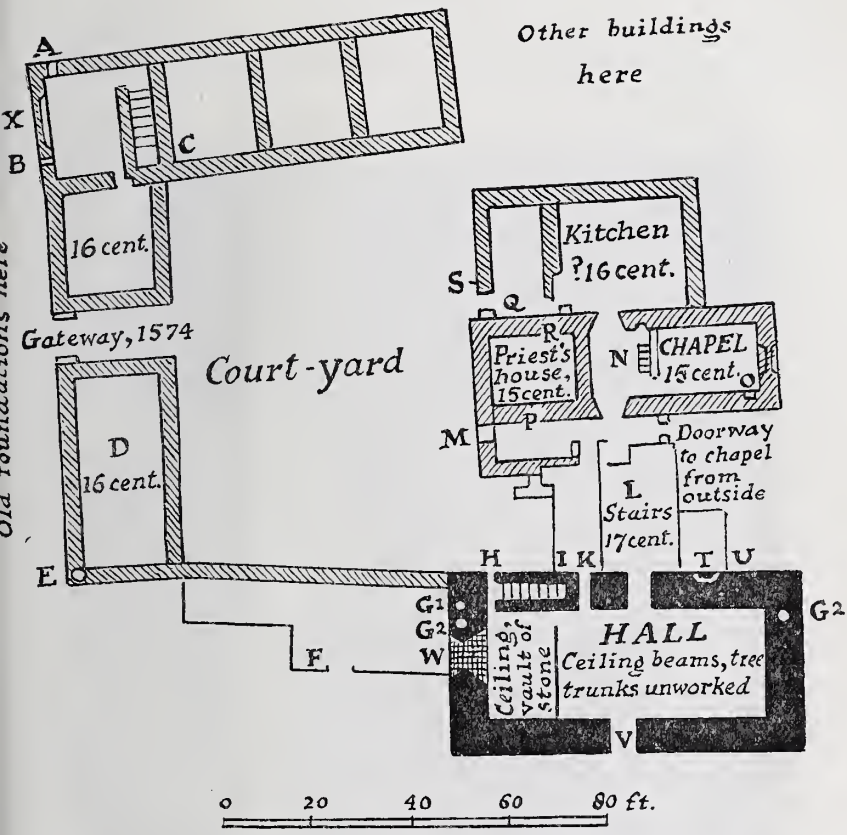
Askham Hall has unmistakeably had several renewals of partially ruined or dilapidated parts and some alterations and additions, chiefly in 1574 and after 1670. But it seems to stand on its original foundations as I have always considered was the case, since I had any chance to make observation of the building. Unless it were stripped of plaster and paint and the ground examined throughout the several alterations and reconstructions cannot be fully made out. But the results of investigations so far made can tell their own tale. The foundation portions of the tower and parts of the walls, like the foundation portions of the north-west corner of the courtyard are of limestone roughly hewed and apparently hauled up from the river and set with mortar which is now as hard as the stone or harder. Of this stone is the roughly cut shield containing the Helbeck bearings and devices of other families, which could be if all were there Musgrave, Sandford, Smardale and others; one looks like Lancaster; * this has been removed evidently from the Tower and is set as an insertion in a later portion of the buildings. These later portions are of stone which seems to have been brought from the Fell, and are more easily dressed than the limestone. There are foundations and stones once used in building which are still under the surface along the N.W. side. This side from the conformation of the ground was the weak point of the Keep for attack. Towards this end on the north side of the Tower is the doorway with pointed arch of 13th century style containing 3 heads which Taylor noticed but somehow failed to compare with the doorway of the same period at Dacre castle so near at hand. Above this doorway and along to the N. W. corner, where there is a small window at the foot of and within an intramural staircase, useful for watching the approach of enemies, must have been a machicolation, but the wall there shows signs of having been injured and made up to within 10 feet of the ground as if attack had done mischief there. The pointed arch doorway is not larger than those in some early Keeps elsewhere in England † but a sufficiently wide and high door was needful to carry in stores for winter or a siege for a keep and garrison of

* What are existing look like 2 boars' heads (Sandford); an annulet (Musgrave) and possibly a lion.

† The doorway of Dacre Castle is 6 feet 8 inches by 4 feet 2 inches; that at Yanwath 7 feet 9 inches by 4 feet 6 inches. This of Askham is 6 feet 10 inches by 3 feet 1 inch. These are measurements of the openings.

the size. These were placed on the ground floor. In the N.W. corner where is the small window mentioned, the beginning of the staircase was approached by an inner doorway with a segmental arch of a style not unusual in that period. At that end of the Tower the ceiling is vaulted and of stone. This would be where the guard room was. The vaulting now ends where a modern (i.e. post-mediaeval) partition with fire places and chimneys, for the hall and the room at that end now exists. Whether the vaulting was continued originally to the end of the whole length still following the width, i.e. the shorter span, cannot be known without much investigation and removal of plaster and stone. But I imagine not; probably difficulty caused a change of plan where the guard room ended which would be near where the modern partition wall exists. For the remainder of the ceiling is remarkable. It is formed of tree trunks each carried right across the width, these are not hewn nor worked but were set in with the bark on. And purlines are morticed into them which carry the first floor. There was no original fire place on the ground floor, but fire would not improve the stored provisions. Between this storage room and the guard room would be, from what we know of examples of the same period, a partition and a doorway with probably a Carnarvon Arch.

In the 16th century fresh windows appear to have been inserted replacing older and narrower windows or openings, some traces of which remain—one exists, an arrow window of dumb-bell shape, but in the N.W. corner of the court yard. In the late 17th or early 18th century fresh large windows were inserted which are there now and a sumptuous staircase was constructed in the newer buildings and outside of the original keep, to which and to kitchens an approach was cut through the original walls near the early doorway. A mullioned window was also inserted over the intramural staircase which has blocked it so much that to get to the upper portion of it one has to creep under the sill, near where this intramural stair reached the first floor. Further along the wall to the N.E. are stones on the outside worn away so as to suggest that there was a door there, ascent to which from outside would be by wooden stairs or a ladder. This doorway might easily have had a Carnarvon Arch. Now there are in the top floor on the inner side of the wall inserted as blind arches two Carnarvon Arches where they could have been of no use in any way, there being no building up there to which they could be approaches: one is a little distance from the N.W. end,



ASKHAM HALL, COURT YARD AND CHAPEL:
(Reduced from Architect's ground plan of 1919).

. Original upstairs doorway.
. Arrow window.
. Evidences of passage 1st floor.
. Banquetting hall, chambers above.
. Evidences of newel stairs.
. Stone marked I S, probably 'John Sandford,' of 17 cent.
. Garderobes, 1 first floor, 2 top floor.
. Window at foot of intramural stair.
Position of 17 cent. window, blocking intramural stair.
. Original pointed arch doorway to ground floor.
. Cellar and underground way to chapel under 17 cent. staircase.
. Doorway to priest's house, now blocked.
. Stairs to gallery of chapel.

O. Piscina.
P. Doorway to upper floor of priest's house, now blocked.
Q. Foliated window.
R. Traditionary hiding place of priest.
S. The Helbeck shield.
T. Indications of door sill. ? Approach by ladder to first floor from outside.
U. Modern window now built up.
V. Modern doorway.
W. Large window, not original, 8 feet high, sill 6 feet from floor, now built up.
X. Old large fire-place in N.W. part of court.

Buildings, all probably later than 16 cent., indicated by single lines showing outside walls.

one from the N.E. end. These may very well be the doorways from the ground floor and from the first floor brought up there and used as reminiscences.

The chapel, now a dairy, referred to by Machel (see Taylor's *Manorial Halls*) which contained two lights with coloured glass of our Saviour and St. Mary, and had the still unexplained shield depicted by him, is not constructed of the oldest stone used. Idonea Sandford's wills suggest that she had it constructed; she was so much concerned in having the chaplain there for provision of services for the Hall and for the good of her soul and the souls of her ancestors. (A stone now elsewhere existing in an obscure portion of the Hall buildings is marked IS but it may not be her initials that it bears). The chaplain's quarters with its mysterious apartment still uninvestigated, belong I understand to the same date as the chapel.

The banqueting room of 1574 in the courtyard contains Sandford and Rookby arms over one doorway, which could only have been set up there after the marriage with the Rookby heiress in the late 17th century. But the large fireplace on the first floor in the N.W. corner of these court yard buildings, good as any in the whole range of buildings, would serve as kitchen for the cooking; and food would not have to get cold carried across from the kitchen near the chapel closer to the Hall. This latter kitchen would be ordinarily used when the family were there alone.

The sets off on the lines of the floors are merely for drawing in the dimensions of the walls in the upper stories and could be of no use that I can imagine, being so narrow, for landing from any attacking ladder and do not give hold high enough for reaching battlements. What changes were made in these in the 16th century needs much examination to tell—much apparently was done in the top story, as well as much refacing and repair of the walls. All things considered it seems that Thomas Sandford had more right to call his work at the tower and the range of buildings in the court yard "bealding" than his cousin Richard Cleburn to give that name to his work at Cliburn Hall. However the disastrous consequences of his ambition show in the documents I give and quote. The area of the ground plan of the Hall which I believe to be that of the original Keep is larger than those of the Cliffords' Keeps in Westmorland, but not so large as that of Dacre Castle. It should be borne in mind, however, that the Clifford castles in Westmorland were after all only advanced posts. Their central position was Skipton in

ASKHAM HALL.

Sandford and Rookeby bearings, *c.* 1680, over stable door, formerly door to banquetting hall.

Phot. by Col. F. Haswell.

TO FACE P. 226.

Craven. What I have particularized are some, though not all, of the remains of antiquity in the Hall.

Askham was sold to Edmund Bolton of Manchester c. 1775, who entailed it on descendants of his niece named King.

Helton was sold to Sir John Lowther, 1680.

XI.—The Sandford Descent.

1.—Gamel de Sandford is witness to a charter of William de Breton to Wetherhal (Prescott p. 393) contemporary with Robert f Coleman who was one of those fined for the surrender of Appleby in 1174.

2.—Robert de Santeford is witness to the confirmation (Dodsworth MSS.) by Torphin f. Robert to a grant by Richard f. Ketel to Byland in company with William de Lowther and others: i.e. bef. 1186.

3.—Wennisa wife of Robert de Santeford and Alice dau. of Uctrede de Santeforde both are witnesses to a grant by Eva dau. of Gospatrik f. Waltheof, wife of Robt. f. Copsi to Byland (Dodsworth MSS.).

4.—Wigan de Sandford is witness to a charter of Alan f. Roland Lord of Galloway to John de Newbigging (Newbiggin documents) before 1255.

5.—William f. Robert de Sandford granted to John de Veteriponte, *for homage and service* * and for 10 marks of silver and one steed his whole wood and turbary of Sandford with these boundaries "as Creskeldbec goes into Coupmanbec, thence going up to Erthusgile to Routhebec and then back to Creskeldbec." Witnessed by Guido de Hellebek and Willm. de Morevill among others (Dodsworth). He also in 4 John (F. of F.) had a final concord with Nigel de Smerdale and Eva his wife about 3 carucates of land there, acknowledged by them as his right and heredity (Smardale was assessed at 3 carucates. See Feoffees of the Cliffords, these *Trans.*, N.S., viii., 290,) therefore it was the whole township. William grants it back to Nigel and Eva except ½ a carucate and 6 acres, to hold of him. Thus he was mesne lord of Smardale.† It also appears that he had rights in the

* This and other interesting difficulties caused by changes made in lineal ownership to which I allude in these *Trans.*, N.S. xvii., p. 233, about which I know more than I did then will be illustrated in a note later on.

† This same Final Concord gives the measurements of Smardale which, totalled, come to 4 bovates and 6 acres. At that time and in that region therefore a bovate was about ¾ of a carucate: the ploughland was more than one ox could plough.

mill of Brampton (A.R. 990) which went down to a daughter, Isabel wife of Thomas de Musgrave—though her surname is not given, the descent is clear (case of John de Helton against Robert and Idonea Lengleys and others referred to these *Trans.*, N.S., xviii., p. 156). Between him and William de Morville from whom he claimed service an agreement was come to which arranged a certain yearly payment of produce to Thomas as settling the claim: this was carried down to heirs and was later granted by Thomas de Hellebek and Avice daughter and heir of Thomas de Musgrave son of the above Thomas de Musgrave, to John de Helton. In 1278-9 (A.R. 981) Thomas de Musgrave was required to answer Thomas f. Will. de Goldington for enclosing a quantity of ground in Sandford. Thomas de Goldington claimed that Thomas de Musgrave had no right to "approve himself" (i.e. enclose) in lands which he held because his father had held it of William de Sandford before he gave it to Thomas de Musgrave, and William de Sandford had warranted all easements to William de Goldington. Thomas de Musgrave claims that he had all William de Sandford's rights and could exercise them. No verdict is recorded. But since Thomas de Musgrave in F. of F. 1 Edward I., 1273 grants the manors of Gt. Musgrave, Sandford and Morton to his brother Richard and then has them granted back to himself and his male heirs with entail (the Final Concord is evidently come to because Thomas saw no chance of male heirs), it is clear that his wife was the daughter and heir of William de Sandford. These manors went down with some questionings and apparently some doubts in the Musgrave family till 1356. But other lands went to Avice, Thomas de Musgrave's only child and Thomas de Hellebek her husband; they held the manor of Smardale, granted by them to Guido de Smerdale F. of F. 20 of 1 Edward I., 1291 except (notice the above grant made by William de Sandford) ½ a carucate and 6 acres; also land and messuages and the moiety of a mill in Morton and Helton sub le Lyth which Richard her uncle held under them, and they kept apparently 4 messuages, 60 acres of land, 9 acres of meadow, and the advowson of the church, which he would hold under them as he did Morton (or the moiety of it) and Helton sub le Lyth; and he granted to them as a sort of compensation ⅔ of a moiety of the manor of Orton. Richard de Musgrave's claim was questioned in 1300 (A.R. 1321) by reason of a tenant having refused to "attourn," i.e. to acknowledge him as superior lord in Sandford. I will refer to this later on. The direct line of descent is broken at this point. Robert de Sandford who could only be a nephew, not a

son, of William's is found in possession. He is witness to a Lowther deed about Barton mill dated 1252 (36 Hen. f. John). He held or claimed, as also Thomas de Musgrave did, common of pasture in Dufton in 1255-6 (A.R. 979) belonging to their holdings in Morton. He granted to Richard de Sandford his eldest son 2 bovates of land in Morton which William de Brampton had held; these he was to hold of him during his life paying 1d. at Christmas, and after his death of the chief lords (Lowther charters): this was between 1250 and 1278. In 1278-9 common in Dufton is claimed against William f. Thomas de Greystoke by Thomas de Musgrave only as a demise for life by Richard de Musgrave whose was the right, a result of the final concord above; and Thomas de Musgrave is required to warrant William f. Robert de Souleby against the $\frac{1}{3}$ of a tenement which Beatrix once wife of Robert de Sandford claimed of him in Soulby as part of her widow's portion; another claim was made by her on William f. Payn for her dowry in Sandford. Hence Robert was dead.

Thomas de Musgrave is given in the Feodary (these *Trans.*, N.S., viii.) as mesne lord of Soulby, Marton and Gt. Musgrave c. 1284, and Richard de Sandford as mesne lord of Sandford and part of Smardale, though as we have seen Thomas de Musgrave had claimed and was handing down Sandford. In 1291-2, A.R. 987, Richard de Musgrave answers in Assize why he distrained cattle of Thomas de Goldington in Sandford, that de Goldington held of him as others did therein by homage and service (i.e. cornage) and that de Goldington had not paid his services and dues. But de Goldington had not "attourned," i.e. had not placed him in seisin as his overlord, so he lost his case. As to Morton Richard de Musgrave called Thomas de Hellebek and Avice to warrant him, the same year, for he held of them, and he claimed the whole "domain" of Morton against Thomas son of James de Morton, as holding Thomas de Musgrave's "statum"—estate. Thomas de Musgrave was evidently dead. In 1300 Richard de Musgrave was dead. Alice de Musgrave claims that her father had given her 1 messuage, 6 tofts, 4 bovates of land, and 60 acres and 7 acres of meadow and one mill in Sandford (A.R. 990) of which she was being deprived by Thomas de Musgrave and Sarah his wife, and Christian, widow of Richard de Musgrave, and Robert de Lancaster and others. The verdict was that Robert de Lancaster had disseised her and not the others and her right was admitted. This shows that Richard her father had owned the mill and was presumably lord of Sandford. In the same year the question of this land and other in

Sandford and Soulby and of the mill was brought up by Robert de Goldington and it is stated that Thomas de Newton and Alice held them, given to her for her life by her father, Richard de Musgrave. Naturally after her death Richard's heir should succeed. In 1300 the Goldington case comes up in another roll (A.R. 1321) and a full verdict given shows that Richard de Musgrave had been lord of Sandford and Thomas his son succeeded to his rights. In 1329 (A.R. 995) a case brought by Thomas f. John de Helton against Richard de Blenkinsop and Isabel, and Thomas de Swinburne and Margaret in Brampton shows that the tenements claimed had belonged to Thomas de Musgrave and had come to them through his daughter and Thomas de Hellebek. In 1339 Richard de Musgrave (another of the name) impleads John f. William, kt. and Johna his wife for freehold in Souleby of 2,000 acres of moor which they say John de Sandford holds and held it when they applied for the writ. The jury decided that John de Sandford was not tenant at that time. But John son of Richard de Sandford in 1310 (F. of F. 3 Edward II.) had been granted land by his father in Souleby to be held of him during his father's life for 6 marks yearly, and, after his death, for the gift of a rose yearly to Richard's heirs; and in 1339 (Sunday after St. Lawrence) John de Sandford, son of this John released to Richard de Musgrave part of this land (Lowther Charters), and in 1347 John, rector of Crogelyn and Hugh de Ormeshead confirmed to a Richard de Musgrave, a cleric, a portion of land called Sandforth landes in Soulby. It seems clear that there was some witholding or claim not shaken off by the Musgrave owners.

Another Robert de Sandford, apparently son of Richard, succeeded who in 1321 acquired of John le Hauberger and Margaret his wife lands in Sandford to hold of the chief lords: in 1323 he and Agnes his wife from William de Newby acquired still more for them and the heirs of Agnes to hold. Robert was deputy-sheriff in 1331. In 1332 he is returned in a Lay Subsidy Roll as having £11 of goods in Sandford. In 1345 he and Thomas de Sandford acquired ⅔ of a messuage, &c. in Crosby Gerard to be held by himself and Thomas and the heirs of Thomas of the chief lords (F. of F. 19 Edward III.); this points to Thomas being his son. And in 1356 (F. of F. 30 Edward III.) Thomas de Sandford and Isabel his wife obtained from Thomas de Musgrave for 100 marks the manor of Sandford to be held by them and the heirs of Thomas, after an agreement come to. Thus was the holding of the manor regained by its owners of the name and all

doubts set at rest. It continued in that name till after 1403 when it passed to the two daughters, coheirs, of Robert Sandford and their husbands Thomas de Warthecopp and Christopher Bardsey (see these *Trans.*, N.S., viii., p. 275).

THE ASKHAM BRANCH.

Robert de Sandford of 1321 and later had a brother William, a cleric to whom he gave a title (for orders) of 5 marks, in 1324 (Bp. Halton's Regg.). He seems to have been the Interim Feoffee of Whale of 1333 in transfer to de Lowther (these *Trans.*, N.S., xvi., 144) and to have not seldom acted as bailiff (i.e. attorney) in various cases in Courts till 1373, and in conjunction with William de Sandford, junior, also apparently a cleric, as interim feoffee or attorney in 1373 in the transfer of Askham from Robert de Swinburne to Edmund de Sandford and Idonea. Before this, in 1369 the moiety of Helton Flechan and 10 messuages, 4 tofts, 100 acres of land, 20 of meadow and the moiety of a mill in Bampton Patrik together with tenements in Gt. Asby and Askham had been conveyed to them by John Bonkyn, Incumbent of Marton and Thomas de Helton, kt., interim feoffees (F. of F. 43 Edward III.).

Hodgson calls Edmund a younger brother of Sir William, but I have found no owner of Sandford at that period of the name; probably William was son of Robert and nephew of the elder William, and thus brother of the Thomas who inherited Sandford. Hodgson mentions the tomb of William de Sandford dated 1416 as visible in his time at Askham. It is possible that he may have been the William Sandford the younger in the Regg. of Archdeaconry of Richmond (Thompson, *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, pt. 98, pp. 189, 190) who had been incumbent of Marholm, 1361, Thornton in Lonsdale 1382, then Gilling in 1391, and (possibly) last in Askham. At any rate the dates will admit of the idea.

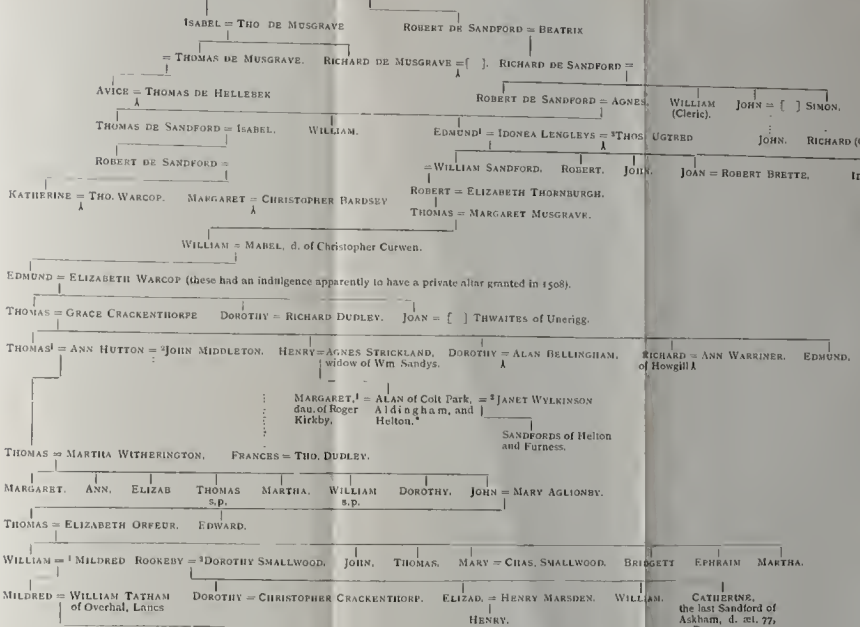
From this point the pedigree has its justification in the deeds given and those quoted in former papers and in the Registers of Askham, transcribed and published by Miss M. Noble, and needs little further comment: those about Henry Sandford and his descendants also from data in West's *Antiquities of Furness*, and in Lowther documents and documents in Somerset House, the British Museum, etc.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS.

Light on the ideas which prevailed on inheritance and tenure and the actual position of feoffees under the overlords comes to one gradually by familiarity with the documents and the cases

in Assize and the entails. From the entails it is clear that there were differences in the tenures and from some of the cases in Assize and in the Final Concords that there were different feelings about what alienation was. It becomes clearer why a Veteripont found it not altogether easy to hold his position in a Morville heritage; and something of the difficulty went down to even Clifford days. The reluctance of the feoffees to submit to Veteripont, a new owner though his mother was a Morville, caused concessions, to some of which, his death while his son John was a minor gave an extra chance for being obtained. What made resistance possible is, however, shown by such cases as that of William son of Robert de Goldington in regard to his overlord in Sandford. In 1300-1 he claimed that he had been disseised of his freehold there, which since he was holding the mill as part of it, is shown to be occupation of the demesne, which was the right, those who ejected him maintained, of Thomas son of Richard de Musgrave who was under age. The verdict of the jury in the case (A.R. 1321) gives the history. Thomas de Goldington bastard (of a cleric) had been granted the holding by Thomas de Musgrave when lord of Sandford. Thomas de Musgrave afterwards granted to his brother Richard all that he owned there and after being seised in the manor Richard granted all back to Thomas to hold of him with entail to male heirs. Thomas de Musgrave had no male heirs and when he died Richard succeeded him according to the final concord and was placed in seisin of the services of all the freeholders except those of Thomas de Goldington who refused, both during the life time of Thomas de Musgrave and afterwards, to "attourn," that is to acknowledge Richard as his superior lord. He died and William de Goldington entered the premises claiming to be heir of Thomas de Goldington; he was the son of a Robert de Goldington presumably half brother of Thomas. He was in possession from 9 in the morning till a little before noon when he was ejected by representatives of Richard de Musgrave who claimed this as his escheat by grant of his brother Thomas. The jury was asked if Richard was the next heir of Thomas. They answered No. Avice his daughter (wife of de Hellebek) was his next heir, but the Court decided that since Thomas had granted it to him as the next heir after Avice (and apparently this was by agreement with Avice and her husband) the right was his. And moreover de Goldington had no right to claim inheritance (even as tenant) since Thomas was a bastard and had no collateral heir. But before this, in 1291, as recorded in this

Pedigree of Sandford of Askham.



* Some of his children were bapt. at Aldingham and some at Askham.

To face p. 232.

paper Richard de Musgrave had tried to enforce his claim by distraining de Goldington and was defeated because the jury decided that Thomas de Goldington had not "attourned" himself to him. Apart from the fact that the right to distrain seems only to have been admitted when it had been agreed upon between the parties, what seems to stand out clear is that a freeholder occupying in person could refuse to own a superior lord and keep him out of his claimed rights as long as he chose. All this explains why when an over-lordship or even a mesne lordship went into another family through female inheritance or through the deprivation of an heiress or through grant to an illegitimate son, it was looked at in some cases as alienation, which even the king's courts had great trouble to settle. The feoffee would keep his oath and his allegiance to him to whom he originally gave it and to his right heirs. He would (or could) please himself as to whether he would give it to any one else.

ART. XIII.—*Greenrigg, Caldbeck.* By JOHN S. PARKIN.

Read at Carlisle, September 1st, 1920.

ONE of the many farmhouses in the parish of Caldbeck, known by the name of Greenrigg, was for a period of over 200 years the home of the maternal ancestors of John Dalton the celebrated chemist. During the last century, and for the first few years of this, John Dalton was known as the Founder of Modern Chemistry. Then for a short time in this century, the Atomic Theory of Chemistry, on which his reputation was supposed to to based, fell somewhat out of favour, by reason of the advance in the electrical theory of matter. It is now, however, considered that the electric theory does not contradict the Atomic theory, but rather confirms it. But Dalton's great discovery, that chemical elements combine in definite proportions, does not depend upon whether there are atoms or not. Everything connected with the family history of John Dalton is of interest both to Cumbrians and to the Scientific world.

When a boy I was told that a celebrated teacher used to instruct the children of the neighbouring farmers in a little building, then used as a calf house in an adjoining farm; but I have not been able to ascertain whether this was John Dalton, or his elder brother Jonathan, or his brother-in-law George Bewley. Most probably it was John Dalton himself, as the other two, though schoolmasters, were hardly "celebrated."

I regret to say that John Dalton's mother's house—Greenrigg—having been unoccupied for some 30 years, was falling into decay, but it is in such an out-of-the-way place that it is difficult to get it repaired.

Among the Deeds in my possession are the following:—

1596, May 23rd. William Scot [*sic*] to Cuthbert Greenup of a tenement at Greenrigg within the Lordship of Caldbeck. Consideration £63 6s. 8d.

1603, June 6th. William Scott to Cuthbert Greenup the younger, a moiety of a messuage in Caldbeck Greenrigg.

1614, February 25. Thomas Harrison & Richard Harrison to Cuthbert Greenopp [*sic*] of a moiety of a tenement or farm-house in Caldbeck Greenrigg. Consideration £81 10s.

1663, June 28th. William Ritson to Thomas Greenup of several closes of land at the yearly rent of one penny to Lord Wharton and of sixpence tithe to the Rector of Caldbeck. Consideration £40.

1759, June 13. Probate of the Will of John Greenup whereby he bequeathed to his son Thomas Greenup his husbandry gear about or in his "mansion house" & all heaf-going sheep.* His son Thomas out of his freehold estate (which would have descended on Thomas as the heir at law) to pay small legacies to his daughters Mary Bristo wife of Samuel Bristo, Rachel Bewley wife of Thomas Bewley, Deborah Dalton wife of Joseph Dalton & Sarah & Ruth Greenup to be paid within 6 months after the death of the Testator's wife Mary. He bequeathed to his wife Mary "one bedstead & bedding of clothes thereon where we now lye in the parlour to be used by her during her natural life & after her death to Thomas for ever."

1796, April 20th. Probate of Will of Thomas Greenup whereby he devised to his sisters Rachel Bewley, Deborah Dalton & Dinah Holmes wife of John Holmes of Greenrigg & Ruth Greenup his tenement & Greenrigg & lands thereto belonging except those of customary tenure, & he made small gifts to numerous relatives. Amongst these were a nephew Daniel Dickinson of Edward Street, Christchurch, Surrey, mason; a niece, Mary Mitchell, wife of John Mitchell of Gordon Castle, N. B. Gardener: Isaac Bristo, Samuel Bristo, Mary Dorrington (a niece of his late wife Elizabeth) the wife of Samuel Dorrington of Little Ormond Yard, St. George the Martyr, Middlesex, coachman; and Mary Crofts, another niece of his wife.

1797. Rachel Bewley of Woodhall Caldbeck widow, Deborah Dalton of Kendal widow & John Holmes of Greenrigg & Dinah

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* On these mountain commons the sheep on each farm always adhere to one spot on the common which is known as their heaf.

his wife in consideration of £300 conveyed to Ruth Greenup their 3 undivided fourth parts of the messuage & lands devised by the will of Thomas Greenup.

1814, 7th March. Ruth Greenup died having by her will given (*inter alia*) to Jonathan Dalton & John Dalton her estate at Greenrigg.

1819, March 16th & 17th. George Bewley son & heir-at-law of Rachel Bewley, Jonathan Dalton of Kendal schoolmaster, John Dalton of Manchester Philosophical Teacher, John Bristo of Linewath, Caldbeck, yeoman & Daniel Dickinson of London, Stonemason, conveyed to Joseph Parkin all their estates of freehold tenure in Greenrigg containing 27 acres 3 roods or thereabouts.

The Greenups also possessed customaryhold land in Caldbeck, certainly prior to 1750.

ART. XIV.—*The Fair at Ravenglass: with a note on the village cross.* By the Rev. CÆSAR CAINE.

Read at Carlisle, September 1st, 1920.

ON August 20th, 1208, King John, being then at "Kirkebi in Kendale" granted to Richard de Lucy, Lord of Egremont, a market at Ravenglass on Saturdays, and a fair yearly, on the Festival of St. James the Apostle, August 5th (old style).

The charter (Cart. Rot. 10 John, M. 3, no. 27) reads :*—

RIC. DE LUCY.

Johannes Dei gratia, etc. Sciatis nos concessisse et hac carta nostra confirmasse Ricardo de Lucy quod habeant [*sic*] singulis annis unam feriam apud manerium suum de Renglas duraturam per unam diem scilicet die beati Jacobi Apostoli et quod habeat unum mercatum ibidem qualibet die Sabbati. Ita tamen quod feria illa et mercatum illud non sint ad nocumentum vicinarum feriarum et vicinorum mercatorum. Quare volumus et firmiter precipimus quod predictus Ricardus et heredes sui post eum habeant et teneant predictam feriam et predictum mercatum bene et in pace libere et quiete integre plenarie et honorifice cum pertinentibus et libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus ad hujusmodi ferias et mercata pertinentibus sicut predictum est. Testibus W. Comite Sarrisberiensi, W. Comite Warenn. R. Constabulario Cestrie, Hugone de Nevill. Gilberto filio Reinfr., Roberto de Curtenay, W. de Cantilupo.

Datum per manum H. de Well. Archidiaconi Wellensis apud Kyrkebi in Kandale xx die Augusti anno regni nostri decimo.†

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* The Latin is very abbreviated, and is here presented in extended form.

† RICHARD DE LUCY.

John, by the grace of God, etc. Ye are to know that we have granted, and, by this our charter, confirmed unto Richard de Lucy that he hold in every single year at his manor of Renglas a fair lasting one day, namely, the day of the Blessed Apostle James, and that he hold a market in the same place every Saturday, provided, however, that the fair and the market are not a source of harm to neighbouring fairs and neighbouring markets. Wherefore it is our will, and we give definite instructions, that the aforesaid

Jefferson says that the grant was "in right of the haven there." The "haven" is also mentioned in this way by John Denton (*Accompt*, ed. by R. S. Ferguson, p. 19). But the charter does not name any such right or condition.

The fair is sometimes spoken of as being held on "the eve, the day, and the morrow" of St. James'. Hutchinson so states the case. But, this again does not appear in the original grant. The fair seems to have grown to a three days fair, from the one day granted in the charter.

Nicolson and Burn say the fair was held on St. George's day. This is certainly an error.

The Pipe Rolls of Cumberland (10 John) have this entry:—(quoted in *The Victoria County History*, vol. 1. p. 403, col. 2): "Richard de Lucy . . . . . one palfrey for having every year a fair, at his manor of Ravenglass, to last for one day, at the feast of St. James, and for a market there every Saturday, so that they may not be to the hurt of neighbouring fairs and markets."

This Pipe Roll, for the following year (11 John), shews that the fee of a palfrey had not been paid by Lord Egremont. There is an entry which reads: "Richard de Lucy owes one good palfrey for having a fair" (*Victoria County History*, p. 405, col. 1).

Sandford (MS. c. 1675) tells us that in his day St. James' Fair was "a grand fair of three days long, for all sorts of cattle especially, and other commodities from Ireland, the Isle of Man, and Scotland."

By the year 1796 the fair had so declined as to occupy

Richard, and his heirs after him, shall have the aforesaid fair and the aforesaid market on a tenure good, peaceable, free, quiet, entire, full, and honorable, together with the privileges, liberties, and free customs belonging to fairs and markets of this kind, as is aforesaid.

Witnesses: W., Earl of Salisbury; W., Earl de Warenne; R., Constable of Chester; Hugo de Neville; Gilbert, son of Reinfrid; Robert de Courtenay; W. de Cantilupe. Given by the hand of H. de Well. Archdeacon of Wells, at Kirkby near Kendal, on the twentieth day of August, in the tenth year of our reign.

again only one day. In that year John, Lord Muncaster, who held the manor under Lord Egremont procured a charter for

1. Two weekly markets, and
2. Three fairs of one day each. These fairs soon died out. Jefferson (1842) says they were unattended in his day. The fair on Aug. 5th was the only event which really survived, and it, at last, became merely a day of "sports" and was known as "St. Jam Races."

An important MS. now preserved at Cockermouth Castle, "The Survey of the Estates of the Earl of Northumberland before certain commissioners, the 8th day of May, xx year of Elizabeth, concerning the Lordship and Borough of Egremont," mentions the original fair as under the direction of the Borough of Egremont. The borough has "the rule of the Market, and direction of the order of the Fair at Ravenglass, which they now occupy and exercise."

The Survey also names certain privileges which belonged to the Burgesses when visiting Ravenglass for the oversight of the fair. "They have at Ravenglass in the meadows there, in the time of the Fair certain dales * or swarthes of grass for their horses with other duties."

The Borough Court of Egremont was very jealous of their rights in this respect, as the following protest, dated 1639, will show :—

To the Rt. Hon. our verie good Lord, the Earl of Northumberland. Humblie sheweth whereas a petition hath bene preferred to your honr. by John Hill for erectinge a market at Ravenglase :

We your honour's poore tennantes and Burrow men of Egremont, whose names are underwritten doe certifie that the market pretended to be at Ravenglase will be a great losse and hinderance to your honour's tennants and Burrow men of Egremont, for that we hold Twoe Market Daies in the weecke in Egremont, and two Faires, one at Ravenglase and another at Egremont from your honour :

---

* A.-S. word "dæl," meaning a portion of enclosed land.

Besichinge the Almightie God lonnge to continue your honour with happie daies for this your honourable care over us, we humblie rest in all bounden dutie.

William Antrobus.
Thomas Murrey.
Anthone Patrickson.
Thomas Kelsicke.
John Skelton.
Leonard Robinson.
Thomas Robinson.
Michael Coltman.
John Grayson.

The proclamation of the fair is interesting. The following copy was used in 1702 (temp. Queen Anne) :—

THE PROCLAMATION FOR YE FAIRE AT RAVENGLASS.

Charles, Duke of Somerset, Marquis and Earl of Hartford, Viscount Beauchampe de Hache, Baron Seymour of Trowbridge, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and Knight of the Most noble Order of The Garter in right of Elizabeth, his Duchess,

Doe, in Her Majesty's name, straightly charge and command all manner of persons, resorting to this present Faire, to keep Her Majesty's peace :

Every Knight, upon paine, to forfeit £10 ; Every Esquire, upon paine, to forfeit, £5 ; and every other person and partaker, upon paine, to forfeit 40s.

And also doe charge and command all manner of persons, that have any manner of goods to dispose of, or sell, at the present Faire, now holden, that they, and every of them, dispose and sell the same in open Faire and Market, and not in corners, houses, backsides, or any other private places, upon paine and peril to forfeit the same, and doe charge all persons selling, disposing, or trading with any manner of goods or traide that they pay their toules, staliges, and accustomed dewes, usually due, and accustomed for the Faire ;

And if any person or persons, during the present Faire, be injured or wronged, let him or them soe injured or wronged repair to the house of W. Johnson in the towne, where the officers appointed for that purpose will be, who will heare their complaint, and see them relieved according to justice and equity.

God save the Queen
and
The Lord and Lady of The Faire.

The following statement addressed officially to Lord Egremont in 1796 gives some interesting details as to the methods of the Fair.

My Lord holds the Fair at Ravenglass at the Feast of St. James, The Apostle, as mentioned in the Survey and receives Tollage, and Stallage for all cattle and merchandise sold, etc.

Upon holding the Fair the Custom is that the chief Bailiff of the Lordship of Egremont, attended by the Borough Sergeant, and Borough Bailiffs of the Borough of Egremont, and others, proceed from Egremont with halberts to a place called Bell Hill, being part of the common at Drigg, where they are met by His Lordship's tenants of the Manor or Forests of Kennyside, Netherwasdale, Eskdale, Mitredale, and Wasdale-head, who are obliged by ancient custom to perform that service. From Bell Hill thev proceed to cavalcade to Ravenglass and proclaim the Fair. [See map, p. 251.]

At noon of the third day of the Fair * the same is discharged by proclamation and thereupon the Pennington family proclaim a Fair to be held that afternoon, and receive the Tolls, when horse races are made, that bring a concourse of people there.

But whether the Penningtons have a grant from Yr. Lordship's family for holding such afternoon Fair, and (or) whether it had first been set on foot by the Penningtons as a meeting for jollity and merriment I cannot make out.

The Stanley family have also immemorially held a Fair at Ravenglass yearly on the 24th day of May at which cattle and all sorts of Merchandise are sold and they receive Tolls. I presume the Fair has had a lawful beginning probably by grant from some of your Lordship's ancestors.

The "cavalcade" referred to must have been a very imposing sight, at times, when there was a good attendance of the tenants.

The lists of tenants show that there were nearly a hundred holdings from which people might be drawn. I will give the names for 1754. These will be interesting for several reasons, apart from the subject in hand.

KENNISIDE.

Anthony Dixon.	Thomas Patrickson.
John How.	Henry Dixon.

* The claim to the legal right of three days was retained to the last.

Thomas Bodle.
John Lamb.
Dinah Moor, widow.
Pennington Stephenson.
Dame Fidler, late Gardners.
Jonathan Walker.
John Benn.
Joseph Crossthwaite.
John Sharp.
Matthew Jackson.
Robert Shepherd.
John Wood
Robert Shepherd.
(Late Younghusband).
John Jackson.
Joseph Rogers.
John Towerson.
Thomas Walker.
Thomas Hunter.
John Shepherd.
John Whiteside.
Thomas Ponsonby.
John Steel.
Wm. Steel.
Frances Robertson.
John Shepherd of Drist.
William Steel, the Younger.
William Hall.

WASDALE.

Abraham Cuppage.
Thomas Newton, the Younger.
Thomas Newton, the Elder.
James Shepherd.
John Myer of the Gap.
John Tyson of Strand.
John Gunson, late of Shepherd's.
William Nicholson, the younger.
Robert Shepherd.
Edward Myers.
Henry Brag, late Nicholson's.
Thomas Sharp.
Robert Dixon (of Daker-Stead).
Joseph Jackson.
Edward Wilson, late of Sharp's
Robert Wilkinson, an infant.
Henry Mossop.
John Sharp of Harrowhead.
John Bowman.
James Shepherd of Dyker's.
William Leach.
Mrs. Mary Pool.
William Tyson, Greendale.
Lancelot Porter, Gent.
William Tyson.
Margaret Porter, infant.
John Nicholson, infant.
Ann, wife of Tho. Sharp, late Gunson's.

ESKDALE.

John Tyson of Down in the Dale.
Henry Vicars.
Henry Dickinson.
Nicholas Dickinson.
Mary Hartley, widow.
Hen. Hartley.
Edward Hartley, of Paddock Wray.
Edward Tyson.
Thomas Tyson, of Roehead.
John Tyson of Christ Clift.
Thomas Tyson of Foldend.
Nicholas Tyson of Hollings.
William Tyson, Infant.
John Viccars of Tayes.
John Viccars, Infant.
John Viccars, Peel Place.

Thomas Hartley, Sch. House.
Henry Hartley, of the Mill.
Henry Hartley of Spout House
John Hartley.
William Coupland.
Nicholas Nicolson.
John Nicolson.
John Hartley, late Nicolson's.
Stephen Nicolson.
James Rassel, Infant.
Joseph Sharp.
Joseph Porter, Gent.
Thomas Towers.
John Tyson of Christ Clift, late Viccars.
Mary, wife of Miles Carter.
William Viccars of Gillbank.
Timothy Wilson of Howes.
William Roscoe.
John Wilkinson.
Aaron Hunter.
John Wasdale, late his father's
Elizabeth Wasdale, widow.
Robert Fletcher.
Lancelot Porter, Gent.
William Atkinson.

Allowing for those who did not turn up, and those who were excused riding The Fair, it is probable that these people formed a considerable crowd in the old days.

In remote days the Foresters came armed with their bows, and carrying their horns, but in the degenerate days of recent times the "cavalcade" was preceded only by "two or three fiddlers."

There is good evidence that the Fair was very widely known. Among the Records at Cockermouth Castle there are several small memorandum books recording transactions at Ravenglass Fair. It would be no advantage to reproduce these in full, but a few abstracts will be of value, as illustrating the fact that people came here from far distant and very diverse places. The writing is bad, and the spelling is worse, the product of a man who spent his days among the cattle and knew nothing of commercial scholarship. I submit these abstracts :—

1703. "Joseph Wilson of Blind Coga exchanged a bay hoss for a bay hoss with John Dickson of Lamplugh." "Blind Coga" must refer to Blencogo, which lies 4½ miles south-west of Wigton.

"Phill. Layes of Cockermouth sold a Gray mair to John Dicksons of Oldhall." The last-named place must stand for Ulldale.

"Will. Willson of Kearton sold to Edward Bateson of Kendall; to Tiffin of Enerdale; to Cassan of Brownrigg; and exchanged a douned hoss for a bay hoss with Fra. Sanderson of Keswick."

"Ro. Chamers near Kendal byoth a gray hoss 6 yrs. old of Jo. Stocker in Casel Sorby."

"Will Tomson of Cockermouth byoth a gray mair of Thomas Barn near Wigton."

Wigton, Kendal, Castle Sowerby, Ennerdale, Keswick, Blencogo—the mention of these place names in so brief an abstract is sufficient to show that Ravenglass Fair was known throughout the whole country, and was resorted to by persons from far and near. Schoolboys were infected by the enthusiasm for Ravenglass Fair. The scholars of St. Bees claimed holiday for this event. The claim was suppressed and the withdrawal is duly entered in the log-book of the school.

The payments for Toll were small. The following headlines of a Toll-book fully illustrate this:—

Towle taken for horsis 1703.
Hors sold, 4d.
Exchanged, 2d.

Again we have:

SALLT-COATS,* 1703.

A beast, 2d.	A pack, 4d.
A Fardall,† 2d.	A Dacre ‡ of leder, 6d.

The following sums, collected at Salt Coats, refer to the year just named:—

	s.	d.
Jo Dickson, twenty bease	3.	4.
John Head, Bease	0.	8.

* Salt Coats is an outlying farm on the marsh between Mite and Irt. The name (Salt-houses) is suggestive of salt making in the past. There is a ford over Mite from the village to Salt Coats.

† Fardel, Fardle, Fardil, Faddle, or as here—Fardall, a parcel of goods smaller than a "pack."

‡ Latin, Decuria—ten. Used as a measure of hides. "Ten hides makis ane Daiker, and twenty Daikers makis ane Last." (Skene). The variations in the spelling of the words are very numerous.

Thomas Baras, Sixteen Bease	2.	8.
Lanthy Branthat, Bease	9.	6.
Jo Reed, twenty Bease	3.	4.
Richard Hudson, fower bease	0.	8.
Joseph Fearon, eleven bease	1.	10.
Fardall	0.	2.
Six Bease	1	0.
	£1.	3. 2.

I am also able to present a list which refers to the town street.

TOWN LAINE, 1703.

A beast, 2d. A Pack, 4d.
A Fardall, 2d. A Daker of leder, 6d.

A Boutcher, one beast	0.	2.
Edward Benson, 3 beast	0.	6.
James Jackson, 2 beast	0.	4.
Tho. Newton, 3 beast	0.	6.
James Forest, 2 beast	0.	4.
George Macherald 2 beast	0.	4.
Jose Verah 9 ,, ...	1.	6.
Roland Skales	2.	6.
John Wilson	1.	2.
Rob. Tyson	0.	2.
Mich. Grigg	0.	4.
William Bouthe	0.	2.
John Rigge	2.	4.
James Braythwt	2.	6.
Gawen Brayhwt [*sic*]	1.	4.
Rob. Patsigson [*sic*]	0.	4.
Rob. Kirnell	3.	6.
Tho. Suart	0.	4.
Rob. Bownas of Cockermouth	0.	8.
Daniel Cowyn	0.	10.
John Killery	4.	0.
Thos Roberts	0.	4.
John Shakley	0.	2.
Robert Eleretson	1.	4.
John Towers	0.	4.
James Eskdale	0.	2.
Thomas Gibson	0.	2.

Richard Wilkinson	0.	2.	
William Robinson	0.	4.	
Henry Lethem	2.	0.	
Roger Whinfell	2.	0.	
James Postletht	1.	4.	
John Taylor	0.	8.	
	£1.	12.	10.*

A comparison of these two lists shows that the business at Salt Coats compared favourably with that in the central street of the town.

The popularity and activities of the Fair decreased before the end of the eighteenth century. The record for the year 1777 will illustrate this :—

1777.

Tolls taken at Ravenglass by Jonth. Bowman for the use of Mr. Jno. Benson, the 4th day of Aug., 1777.

Toll of yarn	0.	3.	2.
Toll of cattle	0.	13.	8.
Toll of Booths	0.	6.	0.
	£1.	2.	10.

Disbursements

Mr. Stamper	15.	0.	
Tollers' wages	6.	0.	
Bread, Cheese, and Ale	2.	4.	
Music and scales	1.	6.	
	£1.	4.	10.

Mr. J. Benson, 2s. debtor.

The previous year the Booth-tolls are given in detail.

Toll of Booths taken at Ravenglass, Aug. 3rd, 1776.

Adam Carr	0.	4.
Osley Mason	0.	4.
John Macum	0.	4.
Ann Smithe	0.	4.
James Worthington	0.	4.
Christopher Mason	0.	4.

* A total is given for this year as £1 16s. 4d.

Edward Walker	0.	4.
John Jackson	0.	4.
Jas. Carr	0.	4.
Jane Ward		
William Hope	0.	4.
Ann Davis	0.	4.
James Shepherd	0.	4.
Francis Scott	0.	4.
Henry Taylor	0.	4.
Richard Hellon	0.	4.
Betsey Boadle	0.	4.
	5.	4.

Other facts point to the falling off of the Fair. For instance, the dinner in earlier days had always cost twenty shillings, equal to several pounds of our money.

In *Computa Quorundam Ministrorum* I find :—

1762. Expenses of the Fair dinner at Ravenglass .. .. £1. 0. 0.

1692. Riding The Fair, Ravenglass .. £1. 0. 0.

25-26th Q. Elizabeth (1583) .. .. ..

Dinner at Ravenglass Fair. Allowed to Bailiff at Egremont out of Estate, £1. 1. 4.

But by 1800 a leanness had entered into this banquet, as well as into the cattle sales :—

TOLLS COLLECTED AT RAVENGLASS FAIR.

Booths, 4d. each	0.	15.	0.
For Cattle at Toll-bars	0.	5.	8.
For ditto at Town Lane End	0.	1.	4.
For ditto at Mite Bank	0.	1.	2.
For ditto at Salt Coats	0.	10.	6
	1.	13.	8.
To the Toll of Yarn at 1d. per stone ..	0.	5.	0.
	£1.	18.	8.

CONTRA.

To 9 Tollers 8d. each	0.	6.	0.
To each 1 pint of Ale	0.	1.	6.
To setting Toll Bars	0.	1.	4.

To Isaac Smithe's boy	0.	0.	8.
To they Yarn Tollers	0.	2.	0.
To the tenants' allowance when riding the Fair	0.	10.	4.
To my extraordinary expenses ..	0.	5.	6.
To the scales	0.	0.	6.
	£1.	7.	10.

COLLECTED BY THE EGREMONT BAILIFF.

The allowance for refreshments to the tenants amounts to 10s. 4d.

A letter by Cuthbert Atkinson to his lordship, April 7th, 1800, accentuates the decay of the Fair :—

The Earl of Egremont also holds two Fairs at Ravenglass, usually on the 4th and 5th days of August. The first day there may be 50 or 60 head of Cattle shewn, and about 250 people! But no horses, sheep, or wool shewn. I have sometimes seen two or three persons that day from Kendal buying a little wool from the sheep farmers (but there is none shewn in the market, as I have said), and on the second day there are generally a few free-holders from Eskdale and Wasdale who are summoned to meet the Earl of Egremont's Bailiff from Egremont, to ride the ffair (and nobody there—what I mean, my Lord, nobody there to do any business).

I proclaim (the ffair) upon Ravenglass Cross, and then, I believe, the Earl of Egremont's Bailiff gives to every one of the people who attends, a pint of ale, and a cake, or something like that. Out of all this, I think I may almost venture to say that the Earl must be out of pocket. Your Lordship is alway brought in debtor instead of creditor on your Fair days.

The statement that the Fair was proclaimed at the Cross is most interesting. As this was the central point of the Fair, it will not be an unwarrantable diversion to refer more at large to this feature of this ancient village. A little more than half way down the main street, and on the right-hand side, taking a southerly direction, there are some large stones forming part of the street surface, and almost entirely hidden by the asphalt of the road. These buried blocks mark the site of the

Village Cross. The stones are not easily examined, but I was able to satisfy myself that they are grey "granite," somewhat like the stone of Waberthwaite Quarry across the Esk. On the Rolls of the Borough Court of Egremont, preserved at Cockermouth Castle, there is this reference to the Cross :—

1774. By an allowance of 6s. 6d. paid him for removing and rebuilding the Market Cross in the Town Street of Ravenglass as per bill and receipt.

This so-called removal could not have been removal from a distant site, for some of the stones which have been taken away, or purloined from the present site at various times, on the testimony of old residents, weighed from 10 to 15 cwts. Six shillings and sixpence would not go far in removing such masonry any distance.

The question is suggested, was the cross removed from the centre of the street to the side ?

But, the "removal" may refer only to the shaft, or possibly the cross itself. The re-building must have consisted of slight repairs. There is no doubt that the present site is, approximately, the site occupied by the cross in ancient days : see map, p. 251.

Jefferson (1842) states, "some of the steps of the market cross are still remaining in the street." About half a century ago a very large portion of the whole cross structure remained. A very old inhabitant has assured me that the cross was so perfect in his youth that he believes there were four all-square steps, and part of the pillar which tapered "like a cone," no doubt the result of a fracture. About that time many of the large loose stones were removed by Daniel Wallace, who kept the "King's Arms"—now "The Pennington Arms."* Later, about 35 years ago, Henry Lightfoot of Crank-

* There were formerly three inns. The other two were situate opposite each other at the end of the village street, "The Ship Inn," and "The Bay Horse," and are now occupied as private dwellings.

lands * (a farm which has now disappeared) removed more of the stones. They were deposited on the shore or river bank not far from the Mite Bridge. Some may still be there covered by waste and drift. After this second spoliation the steps, in part, still remained and were not infrequently occupied by neighbours smoking and chatting in the leisure hours of summer evenings.

These steps were finally removed by men working on the roads about twenty years ago. Dr. Parker (1907) says they stood "until quite recently," and intimates that the remaining stones were not very large (these *Transactions*, N.S. ix., p. 79).

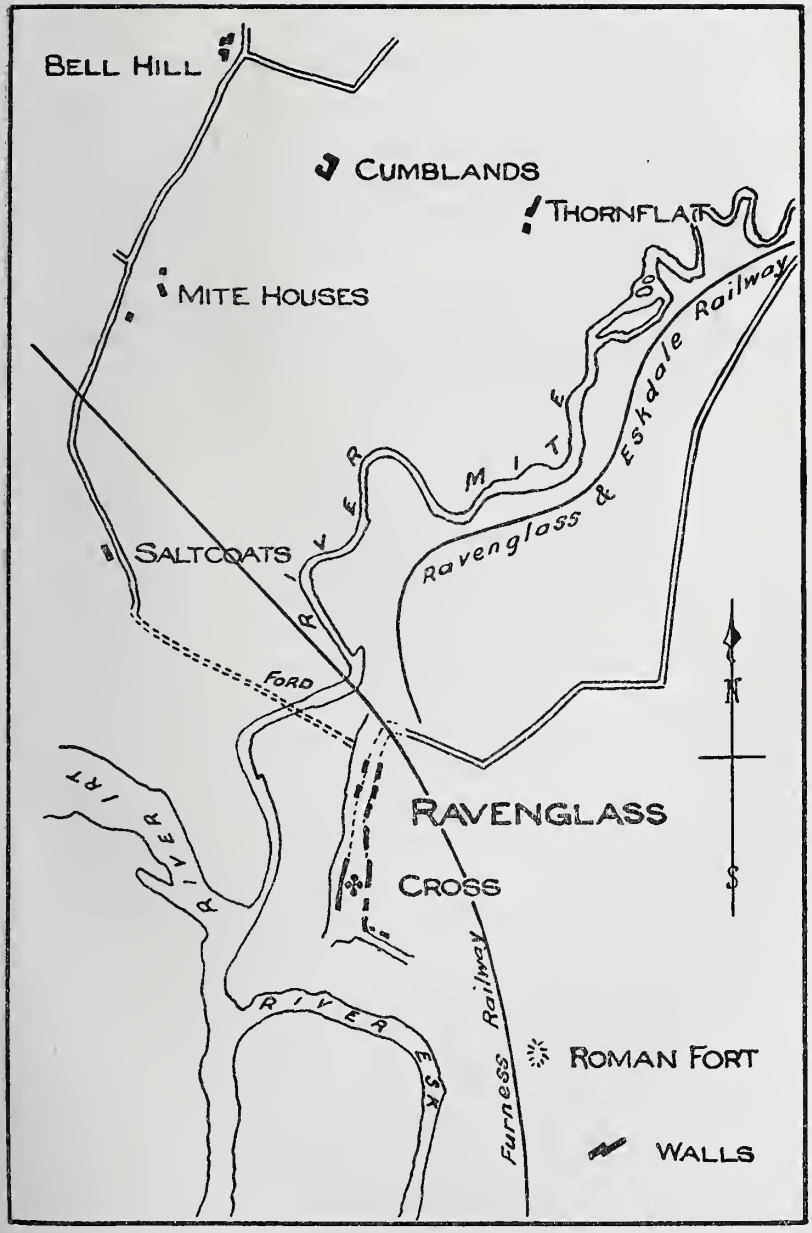
The age of the cross cannot be decided by the data at present available. It is mentioned in a charter of seven hundred years ago. One, Roger, gave to St. Bees "unum domum juxta crucem in Renglass" (Wilson, *St. Bees Reg.*, p. 475). There is no evidence that the cross was pre-Norman.

The cross, if only as a matter of historic and antiquarian interest, should be re-built on the old site. Such an object would be an ornament to the street, and would serve a high purpose as the symbol of the Faith of Christ.

I have said that the Fair degenerated into mere sports. These sports had one or two special features. A trotting contest took place on the fore-shore from the street end to Green Hill towards Eskmeals. This was the great excitement of the day. A blind-fold wheel-barrow race on the foreshore of the Mite, at the back of the village, was the favourite sport of the younger part of the population. Wrestling, of course, was on the programme, chiefly eleven-stone rivals.

---

* At the junction of the Gosforth or Whitehaven Road with the main road there were two farms. The one on the upper side of the road was Cranklands, and two cottages below on the Gosforth Road now bear the name. The farm on the lower side of the road was called Barrow.


BELL HILL
CUMBLANDS
THORNFLAT
MITE HOUSES
RIVER MITE
Ravenglass & Eskdale Railway
SALTCOATS
FORD
RIVER IRT
RAVENGLASS
CROSS
RIVER ESK
Furness Railway
ROMAN FORT
WALLS
N
S

Alexander Watt, Esq., J.P., of Muncaster has very kindly contributed the following note in a letter:—

Two yearly fairs were held in a very modified form, for about four years after I came to Muncaster in 1892, but without any proclamation or opening ceremony, and very little business appeared to be done. The "sports" were continued yearly in August, for either two or three years after the fairs were discontinued, after which the sports were transferred to the Muncaster Flower Show.

[I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to the Right Hon. Lord Leconfield for permission to examine the documents used in writing this article.]

ART. XV.—*Notes on a Roman Well discovered in the Courtyard of the Blue Bell Inn, Scotch Street, Carlisle.* By HARRY REDFERN, F.R.I.B.A.

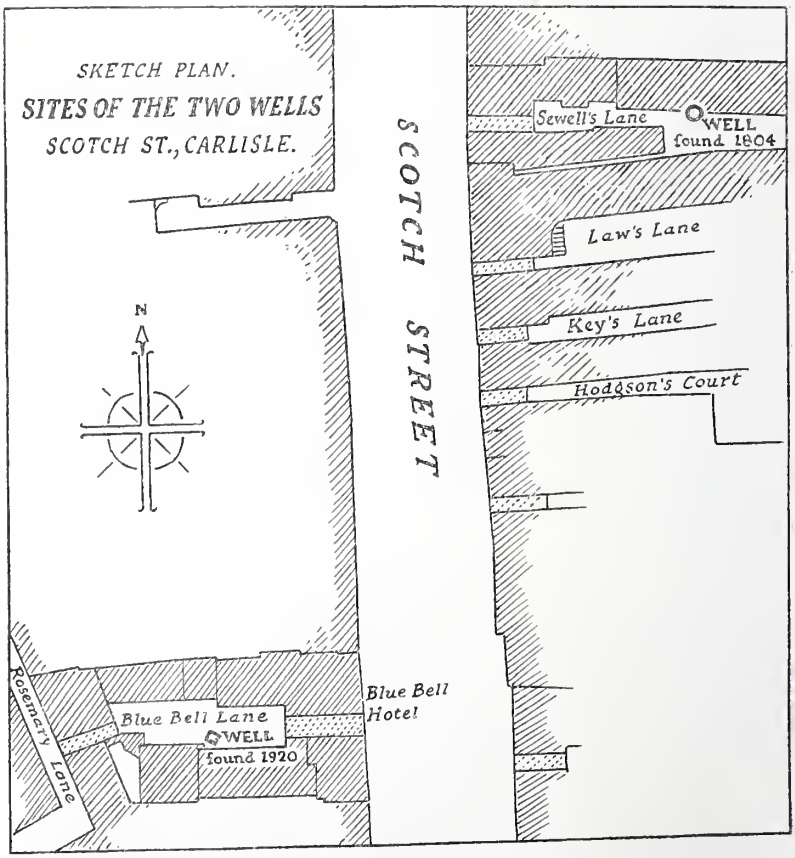
Read at Carlisle, September 1st, 1920.

THE buildings comprising this old hostelry consist of a front facing Scotch Street, and two wings running back at right angles enclosing a narrow Courtyard entered by a passage with an elliptical archway in the centre of the main front. There is a characteristic staircase leading to a fine room (about 50 feet by 20 feet) on the first floor. This apartment is symmetrically laid out; it has a range of windows overlooking the street, a small music gallery in the centre of the opposite side, and a fireplace at each end. From the evidence of the architecture the building appears to date from the closing years of the 18th century; and it possesses features of interest which, if opportunity permitted, might advantageously be worked out in conjunction with the earlier history of the site.

The Central Control Board, having acquired the property, decided to make such alterations therein as would render it suitable for the type of licensed premises which they desire to achieve. The alterations in question chiefly concern the ground floor, especially the original back wings and the various unimportant buildings which had subsequently grown up around the Courtyard.

On the 22nd July, 1920, in the course of excavating for the piers of the proposed new addition, at a position near the wall of the back wing on the South side, disturbed earth and some large stones were found at a depth of about 6 feet below the level of the Courtyard.

Deeper digging revealed the existence of a rectangular well, lined with rough rubble (red sandstone) in stones of considerable size. The internal measurements at the top were 3 feet by 2 feet 10 inches: the position, in reference to the adjacent buildings, is indicated on the accompanying plan; and it had clearly set a limit to the extent of this wing in a Northerly direction.



It may be mentioned, for what it is worth, that the orientation of the well brings its alignment parallel with

that of the portion of the city wall now visible at the top of Corporation Road.

The well had apparently long gone dry, and was full of loose stones and wet earth. This was slowly removed; and almost immediately the pointed end of a larch pump-tree was discovered. This proved to be 12 in. in average diameter, with a 3 in. bore, and 16 ft. long, its lower end being pointed also. Still further down were two other pump-trees 10 ft. 6in. and 6 ft. 6 in. long, respectively; the upper one with average diameter of 9 in., the lower with average diameter of 7½ in., and both with a 3 in. bore. These were of oak; the top of the lower one was fitted with an iron collar and two short pieces of chain, its lower extremity being plugged solid for a distance of 12 inches, the bore ending with two rectangular holes on opposite sides.

The well, gradually narrowing to 2 feet 4 inches by 2 feet 2 inches, terminated 41 feet below the present ground-level of the yard on a stone slab 6 inches thick with a hole in the centre, 4 inches in diameter.

The filling material was carefully screened and the following articles were found at varying depths:—

(*a*) A small piece of very thin sheet glass, semi-opaque and iridescent.

(*b*) A segment of a glass bottle (the diameter would have been about 4½ inches) green in colour and somewhat iridescent.

(*c*) Two sherds of earthenware—apparently part of the rim and of the bottom and side of a cooking-pot.

(*d*) A small piece of Samian pottery—part of a vase—with characteristic panel and ornament.

In order to resist the future lateral pressure arising from the weight on the piers of the new building, it was deemed necessary to fill up the well with concrete; and this has now been done.

Taking all the circumstances into consideration, there seems to be no reason for doubting that the date of the well is that of the Roman occupation of Britain. It would be of value to set down, in the form of a chart, the number and exact position of other similar wells which have been found in this neighbourhood. It is, at least, an interesting discovery, and sets free a flow of conjecture.

[The plan, from materials supplied by the author and by Mr. J. H. Martindale, F.R.I.B.A., shows the position of the well and also that of the Roman well in Sewell's Lane, found in 1804, and described in Whellan's *Cumberland*, p. 139. The interest of the new find is enhanced by the fact of a comparatively modern re-use of the Roman work, as shown by the pumps of larch-wood. A detailed plan of the well has been given by the author to the Society and is deposited in the Society's cabinet at Tullie House. —Ed.].

PROCEEDINGS.

Pilgrimage of the Roman Wall, 1920.

THE usual excursions were this year combined into a longer meeting in conjunction with the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne for the Pilgrimage of the Roman Wall. On the Committee for arrangements were Dr. Barnes, Mr. R. Blair, F.S.A., Mr. W. Parker Brewis, F.S.A., Mr. J. F. Curwen, F.S.A., Prof. J. Wight-Duff, D.Litt., Mrs. Hesketh Hodgson, Mr. W. H. Knowles, F.S.A., Mr. J. H. Martindale, F.R.I.B.A., Mr. Joseph Oswald, Mr. F. G. Simpson, Mr. Nicholas Temperley, and Mr. Edward Wilson, Hon. Secretary. To these, and especially to Mrs. Hodgson, Mr. Simpson and Mr. Wilson, great thanks are due for the arrangements which enabled a large party to carry out the programme in spite of difficulties in transport and inclemency of weather. The following took attendance-tickets in advance :—

W. G. Collingwood, Coniston, R. G. Collingwood, Oxford, Mr. and Mrs. W. C. Slingsby, Milnthorpe, C. Collinson, St. Bees, Lt.-Col. and Miss Bates, Penrith, Rev. Canon and Mrs. Clay, Ambleside, E. A. Bullmore, F.R.C.S., Edinburgh, F. G. Simpson, Gilsland, Joseph Sharpe, London, Nicholas and Miss Margaret Temperley, Gateshead, Mrs. Hesketh Hodgson and Miss Hodgson, Mr. Gregory and Mr. Hawthorne, Hexham, G. Grey Turner, Newcastle, Rev. W. D. Auden, Sedbergh, W. G. Waddell, Lanark, F. C. Maufe, Ilkley, Wm. Dobson, Brampton, The Dean of Carlisle and Mrs. Rashdall, Rev. A. W. Atkinson, Birkenhead, Geo. Thatcher, London, Miss M. H. Dodds and friend, Gateshead, Mr. and Mrs. C. R. Newbiggin, Rothbury, J. Procter Watson, Castle Carrock, Lt.Col. J. F. Haswell, Penrith, Rev. R. S. G. and Miss E. D. Green, Wetheral, Dr. W. D. Anderson, Keswick, J. S. Muir, Cambridge, W. W. Gibson, Hexham (and party), A. P. Brydson, Greenodd, Mrs. Horrocks, Langwathby, Mrs. Gibson, Stocksfield, L. E. Hope and D. Losh Hope, Carlisle, Percival Ross, Bradford, Miss Cumpston, Penrith, R. G. Airey, Kendal, Mrs. C. H. Shaw, Miss Harker and Miss Mosley, Langwathby, Rev. J. R. Moffatt, Brampton, G. E. Cruikshank,

London, J. E. Pritchard, Bristol, E. T. Nicholson, South Shields, J. A. Petch, Sunderland, R. M. Rigg, Penrith, Joseph Cowper, Penrith, Mr. and Mrs. R. Blair, South Shields, Lt. Col. Reavell, Alnwick, T. Taylor Scott, Carlisle, W. Parker Brewis, Newcastle, Dr. G. Neilson, Glasgow, W. Richardson, Willington, Rev. W. F. and Miss Gillbanks, Orton, J. H. Reah, Gosforth, J. F. Ibbotson, South Shields, Prof. R. C. Bosanquet, Alnwick, W. A. Herron, Blyth, Mr. and Mrs. Martindale, Wetheral, Mr. and Mrs. A. M. MacFarlan, Cumwhitton, Mr. and Mrs. Nicholson, Brampton, Miss Taylor, Brampton, Thos. Ball, Newcastle, Dr. Harris and Mrs. Harris, Whitehaven, Miss Mary A. Roe, London, Mrs. Marion Johnson, Bowness on-Windermere, Mr. and Mrs. J. F. Curwen and Captain D. R. Curwen, Heversham, G. Norman, Bath, Col. John Parker, Browsholme, Dr. Barnes, Carlisle, T. Cann Hughes, Lancaster, C. W. Ruston-Harrison, Stanwix, W. N. Ling, Wetheral, W. J. Lawson, Brampton, J. W. Shepherd, Sedbergh, L. Newbigin, Newcastle, R. C. Oliver, Morpeth, Col. and Mrs. H. A. Inglis, Dalston, Miss Inglis and friend, Dalston, Sir Charles and C. C. Oman, Melrose, W. D. Arnison and party, Newcastle, J. J. Brigg and party, Keighley, Miss H. M. Donald, Stanwix, Albany F. Major, Croydon, Rev. W. Copeland, Carlisle, Col. G. R. B. Spain, Newcastle, Miss A. J. Thompson, Whickham, R. B. Hepple, South Shields, G. H. Allgood, Humshaugh, J. F. Carter, Gosforth, G. G. Wordsworth, Ambleside, Rev. C. W. Wordsworth, Leigh, J. Oswald, Newcastle, Miss Greenwood, Bedale, W. H. Knowles, Newcastle, Rev. F. L. H. Millard, Carlisle, Mrs. Blackburn, Corbridge, D. A. Brigg, Keighley Rev. B. Hale, Langwathby, Rev. N. Stick, Workington, H. G. Gandy, Penrith, S. S. Carr, Tynemouth, Mr. and Mrs. Edward Wilson, Kendal, Mrs. Caddow, Carlisle, R. M. Buchanan, Scotstownhill, W. B. Redmayne, Dalston, B. Sadler, Lanchester, Mrs. C. H. Shaw, Dr. and Mrs. Hopwood, Carlisle, Mrs. Mothersole, Mr. Gray.

The Annual General Meeting was held on Tuesday evening, August 31st, 1920, at the Crown and Mitre Hotel, Carlisle, Dr. Barnes, O.B.E., a vice-president, in the chair. The minutes of the last meeting being read, the first business was to elect a president in the place of the late Professor Haverfield. On the proposal of the chairman, Mr. W. G. Collingwood was elected and took the chair. Major Spencer C. Ferguson was elected a vice-president. The Rev. Frederick W. Ragg was elected an Honorary Member. To fill the three vacancies on the Council

caused by these elections and the loss of Canon Rawnsley, Mr. F. G. Simpson, Mr. W. T. McIntire and Mr. T. Cann Hughes, F.S.A., were elected members of Council. Mr. W. G. Collingwood and Mr. R. G. Collingwood were elected joint editors, and the Bishop of Carlisle was elected Patron of the Society.

The president then proposed, in accordance with notice given at the meeting of the Society on April 15th, 1920, as stated in these *Transactions*, N.S. XX., p. 241, the alteration of Rule 10, to read :—" There shall be a General Fund, and the Annual Subscription is one guinea, due and payable on July 1st in each year ; and no member shall be entitled to the privileges of the Society while his or her subscription is in arrear. A composition of fifteen guineas shall constitute Life Membership ; such composition-fees shall be invested. The Annual Subscription for members elected before June 30th, 1920, shall remain at the original rate of 10s. 6d." The proposal for the alteration of Rule IV. was carried without opposition.

It ought to be noticed that the last sentence in the Rule, as it now stands, does not preclude members elected before June 30th, 1920, from voluntarily adding to their subscriptions or Life-compositions. The Treasurer will receive with thanks any donations which may help the Society to tide over the financial shoals of the present and near future.

The Parish Register Section announced the preparation of the first part of Kendal Registers (since issued) edited by Dr. Brierley. This department of the Society is also in need of more support, if it is to be worthily maintained. To some fortunate Parish Register Societies gifts to cover the cost of complete volumes have been given, and it may be that our work in Registers, Records and Research will meet with similar generosity.

The following new members were elected :—Mr. John Taylor, C.B.E., Helmside, Grasmere ; Dr. Arnold William Montford Auden, Birch House, Leigh, Lancashire ; Miss Highmoor, the Chantry, Ravenstonedale ; Mrs. Blackburn, Corbridge vicarage ; Miss Mary Sisson, 9 Northumberland Terrace, Tynemouth ; Mr. J. N. Tetley, Rosemount, Headingley, Leeds ; Mr. Ronald Cunliffe Shaw, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., 6 Victoria Road, Poulton-le-Fylde, Lancashire ; Mr. Francis Hugh Desborough Ward Rosehill, Moresby ; Mr. A. E. Turner, 7 Gordon Street, Workington ; Miss Gardiner, Highfield, Kendal ; Mr. W. W. R. Dinning, Riverscaur, Stanwix ; Miss C. M. Parker, Hawksdale, Dalston ; Dr. R. M. Keeley, Wigton ; Dr. Arthur Hopwood, Springfield, Northumberland Road, Carlisle ; and the Rev. Christopher Wordsworth, Leigh.

At the conclusion of the business, the meeting was addressed by Mrs. Hesketh Hodgson on the problems of the Wall in general, and especially in relation to work done near Birdoswald. In that section of the Wall the questions before the explorers have been to ascertain the relation of the stone Wall, Turf Wall and Vallum, the forts, milecastles and turrets, to one another, and to fix their dates, their builders and their purpose. Mrs. Hodgson continued :

"Some sections across the Vallum were cut by Dr. Hodgkin at Heddon-on-the-Wall, and at Down Hill, under the auspices of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and these gave results similar to those later ones in Cumberland which I am going to describe. It became very desirable to see what thorough investigation would show. In 1894 a beginning was made under the leadership of Professor Haverfield in pursuance of the effort to ascertain the construction and meaning of the Vallum. Roughly speaking, the Vallum consists of a wide, flat-bottomed ditch, with mounds of earth thrown out on either side, the upcast being in reverse order to the layers of various soil underneath the original surface, and indicating that the mounds were formed out of the contents of the ditch, and were not built of soil brought from a distance. The mounds vary a great deal in height and size. Everything points to the ditch having been the chief consideration in the minds of the workers, the mounds being a means of disposing of the upcast, and their position apparently depending to some extent on the nature and slope of the ground. Two mounds, one on the north and one on the south side of the ditch, are generally the principal features but there is often a small inner mound on the south side, and sometimes there are 4 parallel mounds. When I have seen a section of the small inner mound, the soil has been much more mixed and disturbed than in the large mounds, and it may be accepted as representing one or more clearings of the ditch, subsequent to the original construction of the Vallum. Mr. Simpson will have further features of the Vallum to speak of, and anyway I am not intending to venture on offering theories to-night, but I must mention one or two which *have* been disproved, and one which has *not*. One is that it was a road or 'covered way.' I have seen more than 100 sections, and I have never seen any trace of a road, except at one point where the military road, which usually runs between the Stone Wall and the Vallum, runs for a short distance along the north berm. There could have been no road in the ditch itself, which is very wet and filled with black mud often containing Roman pottery.

The tops of the mounds were narrow and sharply curved. The flat spaces or berms between the mounds and the ditch show no sign of road-making—they are generally undisturbed subsoil—and at Limestone Bank you will see them littered with huge blocks of stone. The second theory, that the Vallum was a military work, is declared impossible by engineer officers like Sir W. Crossman; and indeed it does not need military training to see that, as was said by one of our party, a handful of schoolboys could stone the best troops in the world out of it when they had no gunpowder. It is liable to such attack from points both north and south.

"Long and careful tracking has shown us that whenever the Vallum ditch approaches a fort it curves southward to go round it. At Birdoswald it follows a very irregular line. At Castlesteads and Halton Chesters it is neater, and at Carrawburgh it comes straight up to the fort on both sides, and then forms an outer ditch round the southern half of the fort, parallel to the inner ditch which goes, as usual, all round the fort. At Chesters on Tyne it runs into the ordinary ditch of the fort at the S.W. and S.E. corners. Sometimes it is too far from the forts to deflect its course. When near the forts, the ditch generally becomes narrow and the mounds vanish, having evidently been removed at some early period. Now of course this indicates that there were forts of some kind standing when the Vallum was made. It does not make it certain that the forts were already in their final form. It shows that the ditch was to be continued at all costs. The mounds might be subject to trespass—by the road, as I mentioned before, by the Roman quarry at Bleatarn, by the mile-castle on Harrow's Scar near Birdoswald, just where it turned to go down the cliff and take up a different direction on the east bank of the Irthing.

"One theory which has not been disproved is that the ditch was a *limes* or boundary of the Roman Empire, the forts and the Stone Wall forming a defence to it. For a study of what is known of the Roman Frontier System I should refer you to Professor Pelham's article in vol. xiv. of the Old Series of our *Transactions*. Nothing in this last theory is inconsistent with the view that the forts were earlier than the Vallum.

"The Turf Wall opens up a different subject. It had long been noticed that a ditch and mounds ran parallel with the Vallum from a point close to Wall Bowers and a few hundred yards west of Appletree, which we shall visit to-morrow. At Wall Bowers its ditch joins that of the Stone Wall, and it is unfortunate that

some modern buildings, now destroyed, have made full investigation at this point exceedingly difficult and inconclusive. Deep excavation, however, would certainly show the ditch passing below the Stone Wall. But many sections were cut at Appletree, disclosing features wholly different from those of the Vallum. The south mound when cut through showed a number of black and white lines. Now vegetable matter, when buried for a great length of time, not only carbonizes and forms a black line in the soil, but it seems to absorb or otherwise annihilate the colour of the soil below it. And these black and white lines indicate sods of turf, laid green side downwards (as directed in Roman books on construction) and built as a wall. The average width was about 12 feet. The height was very small, but it is evident that the Wall had been purposely destroyed, probably when the Stone Wall was built. North of the turves was a flat surface or berm, of much the same width as that which runs on the north side of the Stone Wall. Then came a wide, V-shaped and very deep ditch ; and finally a large loose mound of disturbed earth, thrown out from the ditch to the north, and forming a glacis. This ditch and mound correspond exactly to those of the Stone Wall. Some distance further east, the mounds disappear from the surface, but the ditch is still visible, pointing towards the site of the more northern of the two gateways in the west wall of the fort at Birdoswald. (The gateway is ruined and no longer to be seen.) On approaching the field in which the fort stands, the ditch also vanishes, but a few trenches recovered its line most satisfactorily. It was then sought on the eastern side of the fort, and was found under the northern gateway in that side. Two trenches cut inside the fort in a line between the points at which we had found the Turf Wall ditch showed us a ditch continuing across the present fort, but whether it was the Turf Wall ditch or that of on earlier fort it was not possible to say. Further excavation here is needed. We ought to have prolonged our trenches across the whole of the ditch within the fort, to see whether its form and width corresponded to that of the Turf Wall or to that of the fort ; and we ought to have investigated the fort ditch to see exactly how and where it joined the Turf Wall ditch. My own impression is that where the ditch touched the guardroom of the gateway it had all the characteristics of the Turf Wall ditch, and I do not think its position exactly suits the curve of a fort ditch at the corner of a fort. But it needs much more careful study, as the relative dates of the earlier fort, the later fort, and the Turf Wall depend partly

on the solution of the question. If, as I believe, Mr. Simpson's excavations this year go to prove that the present fort is older than the Stone Wall, we get a fairly early date for the Turf Wall.

"Mr. Maclachlan noticed that where the Stone Wall comes up from the Irthing its line, if continued, would strike the gateway just mentioned, but it makes a slight bend to the north, and abuts on the north-east angle of the present fort. Excavation of the Turf Wall ditch showed that the Turf Wall must have taken that exact line. The ditch itself passes underneath the Stone Wall, and joins the ditch of the latter on its eastward course.

"Those who have seen sections of the Turf Wall between Forth and Clyde—the Antonine Wall—tell us that our sections are exceedingly like that work, except that we found no stone edge or kerb and no traces of a paling at the top. The latter is not surprising, as I do not think any part of our Turf Wall is at its original height. Also stone culverts have been found under the Antonine Wall which strongly resemble a culvert found east of Birdoswald on what must have been the site of the Turf Wall. The meaning of this Wall is, and I fear is likely to remain for some time, a subject for discussion. The additional earthworks had been theorized about for 2 or 3 centuries before anyone tried the spade, and I know of no suggestion having been made that it was a Turf Wall till 1895, a fortnight before our excavations were begun, when Mr. C. J. Bates, in his *History of Northumberland*, after showing that the Vallum did not fulfil the necessary conditions for a Turf Wall or *Murus cespiticius*, pointed to this deflection from the line of the Stone Wall as possibly supplying the need. A Latin writer, speaking of Lollius Urbicus, the lieutenant of Antoninus, says that he strove to keep out the barbarians north of the Clyde, *alio muro cespiticio ducto*—by building another wall of turves. I believe the Latin, like the English, is slightly ambiguous, and might mean 'another wall, this time of turves' (and not of stone), but it is more often taken to mean 'another turf wall.' This had led earlier English writers to seek a turf wall on the line of the Stone Wall, and even to identify this turf wall with the Vallum. But the Vallum is not a wall, and it is not of turf.

"But that we really have, in the bare couple of miles between Wall Bowers and the Irthing, the only relic of a barrier that once stretched from sea to sea, and was replaced by the building of the Stone Wall on its site, the ditch and glacis being already prepared and the line drawn from fort to fort on the most suitable ground, is not to be hastily assumed. Excavations at Chesters,

where part of the fort projects beyond the Great Wall, have shown a ditch crossing it, but that only proves the existence of an earlier fort. Still, the Turf Wall needs explanation. It cannot be treated as an additional strengthening of the line at a weak point. Such additions are usually made stronger, not weaker, than the work they supplement. The final argument, however, against such a view is, that the ditch would not have gone underneath the Stone Wall. With regard to the deflections of the Great Wall from the line of the Turf Wall at Birdoswald, I may call your attention to the great landslip above the Irthing west of Birdoswald, which has carried away several hundred yards of the Vallum. It did not quite reach the Turf Wall, but it might easily, if it occurred before the building of the Stone Wall, make the Roman designer think it best to move the heavier work further away.

"I have not been able to keep in very close touch with later excavations than those I have described, and new light often leads us to reconsider our position. But I have tried to state exactly what I saw, and to give some idea of what was indicated so far as our knowledge then went. Mr. Simpson's patient and thorough investigations put a very different construction on the matter, showing by the pottery found in the buildings between Wall Bowers and the Harrows Scar mile-castle in connection with the Stone Wall that a very early date must be assigned to that work, bringing the construction of the Turf and Stone Walls within a very few years of one another."

Mr. F. G. Simpson, in following, gave a preliminary account of the subjects to which he proposed to draw attention in the course of the Pilgrimage, laying stress on the evidence for the priority of the stone forts to the Wall as shown by his own recent excavations, and on the periodic crossings lately discovered in the Vallum. These points are treated shortly below and will be discussed more fully by Mr. Simpson in our next volume.

The Pilgrimage: First Day.

On Wednesday, September 1st, 1920, members of the party starting from Carlisle met those from Newcastle at Gilsland station at 10-45 and drove in motor-cars, with intervals of walking, to Haltwhistle station, which was reached about 6-15. The weather was very wet during the early part of the trip, but improved in the afternoon.

At Wall Bowers Mrs. Hodgson pointed out the site of the W. junction of the Turf and Stone Walls, and at Appletree showed a section of the Turf Wall, describing it as in her paper of the previous evening.

On arriving at Birdoswald Mr. F. G. Simpson began by directing attention to the spot at the N.W. corner of the fort where he had recently found the first ditch underlying Hadrian's Wall. At the east gate Mrs. Hodgson showed the point where a ditch—probably the Turf Wall ditch—had been found underlying the gateway buildings. At the S.W. corner of the fort Mr. Simpson pointed out the place where the fort works and the Vallum came into contact, and explained the importance of the site in connexion with the question of chronological sequence—a question which ought to be answered in the course of further exploration. Before leaving Birdoswald the president proposed a vote of thanks, which was carried by acclamation, to Mr. J. Wright, the owner of the place, for his courtesy towards the visitors.

At a point on the Vallum, S.W. of Great Chesters, Mr. Simpson demonstrated the existence of periodical gaps in both mounds of the Vallum at regular distances of about 45 yards, connected in each case by a causeway across the Vallum ditch. The gaps were perfectly plain; the causeways slightly less plain, but distinct when once pointed out. These gaps had been found in many parts of the Vallum; the causeways, on the other hand, were found only where—as here—the absence of a marginal mound showed that the Vallum ditch had not been cleared out in Roman times. He suggested that the purpose of these gaps and causeways was to afford access across the Vallum for men carrying stones from the quarries S. of the Vallum to the Wall N. of it. If this explanation is correct, it would show that the Vallum was in existence when building was being done on the Wall.

Mr. W. H. Knowles, F.S.A., expressed some difficulties in accepting this explanation. He argued that, in order to convey stone from the quarries to the Wall, the easiest method would have been to make a road joining each quarry to an E. and W. road immediately in rear of the Wall. Further, that the bogs here and elsewhere lying close to the Vallum would make the crossings useless. As an alternative he suggested that if the Vallum was a military work, it ceased to have any value after the Wall was built; and these crossings were then made in order to give easy ways over what would otherwise have been an obstacle.

Mr. Percival Ross also disagreed with Mr. Simpson, and thought that the gaps might have been made much later for the passage of cattle.

Proceeding to the fort of Aesica, Mr. Simpson showed the multiple ditches of the N.W. corner, curving round as if to continue across the line of Hadrian's Wall. Here, as at Birdoswald, he had recently dug and found the innermost ditch underlying the Wall. This proves that Aesica, like Birdoswald, existed before the Wall was built, and perhaps before the Wall was contemplated.

On the walk eastwards along the line of the Wall, Mr. Simpson pointed out the ramparts of two marching camps recently discovered by himself, across which Hadrian's Wall had been built. On the Haltwhistle Burn he showed the remains of the Roman water-mill, and a little further down the pre-Hadrianic fort which he and Mr. J. P. Gibson had excavated.

The walk was continued past Cawfields milecastle along the line of the Vallum, where the gaps in both mounds are very marked, and so to Shield-on-the-Wall, where the carriages were waiting.

In the evening after dinner a meeting of the Society was held at the Crown and Mitre Hotel, Carlisle, at which the following papers or abstracts of them were read :—" Lanercost Foundation Charter " and " Scaleby," by Mr. T. H. B. Graham (Articles VIII. and IX.) ; " Fountains Abbey and Cumberland," by Mr. W. P. Haskett-Smith with some remarks by Mr. W. G. Collingwood (Articles X. and XI.) ; " The Sandfords of Askham," by the Rev. F. W. Ragg (Art. XII) ; " Greenrigg, Caldbeck," by Mr. J. S. Parkin (Art. XIII.) ; " The Fair at Ravenglass," by the Rev. Cæsar Caine (Art. XIV.) ; " The Roman Well in Scotch Street, Carlisle," by Mr. H. Redfern (Art. XV.) ; and " Protestations of attachment to the Protestant faith, Caldbeck, 1642," by Mr. William Brown (Addenda).

The Pilgrimage : Second Day.

On Thursday, September 2nd, 1920, the pilgrims met at Fourstones station, leaving it at 11-15 in motor-cars and returning to Fourstones about 5-30 p.m. The weather was rainy in the morning and the rain came on again later.

From Fourstones the party drove along the Stanegate to Newbrough and Crindledykes, joining Wade's road at Bradley ; leaving the carriages at Peel they walked along the Wall, past the mile-castles of Castle Nick, Hotbank and Housesteads to

the Housesteads fort. Here Professor R. C. Bosanquet was the exponent. He described how the late Mr. John Clayton had excavated the outline of the fort, leaving for himself the exploration of the interior, which was accomplished in 1898. He gave an excellent description of the *principia*—the strong room, the forge and arrow-heads, the coal-bunkers, etc.—all now well known to readers of the published report. He then took the party to the granary, the N. gate, and a point near the N.E. corner where Hadrian's Wall had been bonded into the pre-existing wall of the fort; then to the N.E. corner tower, which (as Mr. Simpson has lately shown) was originally built in its normal position and later was taken down to be rebuilt at the point where Hadrian's wall joins the wall of the fort. Then to the latrines in the S.E. corner, which were described by Mr. Simpson.

On regaining the carriages the drive was continued to Limestone Bank, where the ditches of the Wall and the Vallum, cut through basalt, were inspected. The party walked along the line of the Wall to Black Carts turret, after which they took carriages again and drove back to Fourstones.

In the evening, at Chancellor Campbell's house at the Abbey, Carlisle, a meeting was held of those interested in preparing inventories of church fabrics and furniture with a view to their protection in the event of restoration or other circumstances. Completed lists for about half the Rural Deaneries were handed in and work was arranged to cover the rest of the diocese.

THE PILGRIMAGE: THIRD DAY.

On Friday, September 3rd, 1920, the meet was again at Fourstones at 11-15, and the excursion made by motor-cars by way of Chesters and Portgate to Corbridge, reaching the railway station at 5-30. The weather was fair, and at times even pleasant.

Chesters Museum was described by Mr. R. G. Collingwood. His paper is printed in full in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 3rd series, vol. ix., pp. 288-293. After recalling the great debt owed by all Romano-British antiquaries to John Clayton of Chesters and his descendants, he dealt in particular with the inscribed stones in the museum, pointing out that three (147, 265, 272) were documents of the highest importance in connexion with the problem of the date of the Wall, being dedications to the Emperor Hadrian. A milestone of Hadrian (260) was also here; it was found near Chesterholm. There were three inscriptions of Antoninus Pius, but of these one was a cast of a "distance-slab" from the Scottish

Wall built by that Emperor about A.D. 143. The reign of Marcus Aurelius was a blank ; that of Commodus was perhaps represented by no. 36, recording the building of an aqueduct in the governorship of Ulpius Marcellus, whom Commodus sent to Britain to retrieve the disaster of A.D. 180. Caracalla was apparently mentioned in no. 116, Severus Alexander in nos. 13, 38, 257 and 258, the last two both milestones. Maximin was commemorated by a milestone (259) and fragments of a large slab from Procolitia (95). "We have here," he continued, "quite a large group of eight inscriptions all dating from the early third century, three of them milestones and five records of building or restoration. They are relics of a period in which the Empire put forth all its strength to repair the disasters of the end of the second century ; a period when defences were everywhere rebuilt and districts reorganised. The name of Septimius Severus is especially associated with this period of reconstruction, and rightly, for he certainly set it going ; but it outlasted his death, as these and other inscriptions show us, for thirty years. Indeed, posterity was so much impressed by the constructive energy of this period that to it was sometimes traditionally ascribed the entire Wall of Hadrian." The later dated inscriptions were very few in number; only three, all milestones.

He also dealt in some detail with the religious inscriptions, of which Chesters Museum possesses over 40, representing some 18 or 20 different cults. There was only one Christian stone (247) ; the cults best represented were that of Coventina, the goddess of the sacred and medicinal well at Carrawburgh, that of the Mothers, and that of the "Old Gods." The cult of the Di Veteres was a puzzle. It had formerly been interpreted as a protest of expiring paganism against the encroachments of Christianity ; but the spellings of the dedications, especially in the form DEO HVITRI, suggested that it was really the relic of a Low German deity Huitris, or some such name, imported into these parts by the Tungrian garrison of Housesteads and corrupted by non-Germanic neighbours into the familiar Latin adjective *vetus*. The cult was a very popular one among the troops on the Wall ; but the Spaniards of Great Chesters and Chesters, and the Dalmatians of Carvoran, uniformly dropped the H which probably they could not pronounce, and thereby misunderstood the word. The cult of the Mothers was less of a problem. It was very widespread in the south of France, the plain of Lombardy and the Rhine and Moselle basins, and it may have reached Britain from the last-named region. At Chesters it was represented by

three stones, all from Housesteads, whose garrison appeared to have specialised in strange worships ; they had their Mithraeum, from which came nos. 133 and 135, and there were also at Chesters three stones commemorating the cult of Mars Thingsus—the War-god of the Thing, of the folk-moot—and two attendant deities " the Alaisiagae, Beda and Fimmilena."

Of other stones calling for special mention the most important was the altar dedicated by the Vicani Vindolandesses, the members of the civil settlement at Chesterholm, which definitely fixes the correct form of the name as Vindolanda, not Vindolana.

Mr. Collingwood also called the attention of the visitors to the replica of the Chesters Diploma, the " Modius Claytonensis " or recently-discovered bronze measure holding 20 pints, and other small objects.

The fort of Chesters was then described by Prof. Bosanquet ; the *principia* (still generally known as the " forum ") with its offices and strong room ; the barracks, so far as they have been dug, and the bath-house on the banks of the Tyne, which he described as the most impressive building of its kind in the North of England with the exception of Walls Castle, Ravenglass.

After luncheon at the George Hotel or picnicking by the riverside, the party walked to the eastern abutment of the Roman bridge, where Mr. Simpson said that the bridge was sometimes supposed to have been moved, in Roman times, to the west, indicating a change in the course of the river. This he considered illusory. He thought the passage had been narrowed to make it more difficult for enemies to creep underneath when the river was low. The counterpoise-stone, which had been thought to serve for elevating a drawbridge, was more probably used in lifting a grid hung between the piers, to prevent passing underneath. He suggested that the " covered way " was really a conduit—the race of a watermill. Some discussion followed, and the carriages were taken again for the drive up the hill past Brunton House, where no stay was made. and past a fine piece of Vallum where the gaps were observed with great distinctness for a long distance. At Portgate the road was taken down to Corstopitum.

At Corstopitum Mr. W. H. Knowles gave an excellent general account of the explorations and pointed out the main features now visible on the ground and in the museum. Here the proceedings came to an end and the party broke up at Corbridge station.

Spring Meeting.

Among other business at a meeting of the Council of the Society held at Tullie House, Carlisle, on April 7th, 1921, a resolution was passed expressing the opinion of the Council that it was inadvisable to remove the Langbar Stone on White Lyne Common, Bewcastle. At the general meeting held on the same date in the Art Gallery, at Tullie House, Mr. W. G. Collingwood, president, in the chair, the following new members were elected :— Mr. Robert G. Airey, Kendal ; Mr. Harold Duff, Maryport ; Professor Eilert Ekwall, Sweden ; Mr. Herbert T. Griffith ; Mr. Donald G. Hopewell, Arkholme ; Mr. J. G. McIntosh, Alston ; Mr. James A. Petch, Sunderland ; Mrs. H. D. Rawnsley, Grasmere ; Mr. Ian A. Richmond, Rochdale ; Rev. J. Stuart Rimmer, Ulverston ; Mr. D. L. Thorpe, Carlisle ; Mr. Legh Tolson, Pooley Bridge.

A paper on the Langbar Stone was read by the president. Abstracts of " A List of the Rectors and Vicars of Dalston," by the Rev. Canon Wilson, Litt.D., and of three papers by Mr. T. H. B. Graham, M.A., namely, " Lanercost Foundation Charter, part II.," " Ousby " and " Kirkland," also notes by Miss Mary C. Fair on " The Eskdale 24 Book," were read by Mr. R. G. Collingwood. Mr. H. S. Cowper, F.S.A., read " Notes on Richard Braithwaite of Burneside, the poet and writer, and his portraits." The president read some stories of local witchcraft contributed by the Rev. T. N. Postlethwaite of Urswick-in-Furness, and a note on the site of the chapel of St. Michael, Rottington, mentioned in a St. Bees charter of 1258 ; about which Mr. N. N. Thompson had sent a letter from Mr. E. L. Nanson to the effect that field no. 161, Preston Quarter, of the Ordnance Survey, 2nd ed., was named on a plan of 1804 as " Great Chapel field," and dressed stones had been ploughed up in a small enceinte in its S.E. corner near St. Bega's Well. Further exploration of the site is desirable (and by later information appears to be contemplated).

Mr. J. F. Curwen, F.S.A., read notes on the age of the fabric of Askham Hall.

Mr. L. E. Hope, F.L.S., Curator, exhibited Roman relics lately added to the Carlisle Museum :—

(1). A series presented by Mr. Harold Duff and found by him in the sand-dunes north of the Roman fort at Mawbray, where the encroachment of the Solway is now exposing remains long buried. The finds include many fragments of Castor ware

(Romano-British), one of which is part of a beaker with ornament of stems and leaves *en barbotine* ; also a nearly complete cooking-pot, 8 inches high and 6¾ inches across the bulge, with lattice ornament ; the rather high rim and a one-inch band below it have been polished. The form and ornament of this pot are typically Romano-British, but the colour of the fabric is brown, not black or grey as usual in such pottery. Pieces of the rims of similar vessels, also found at Mawbray, were sent by Mr. Hope to Mr. A. G. Wright, curator of the Colchester Museum, who in returning them enclosed fragments, which he dates to the first century B.C., found at Billericay, Essex, in 1865, with pedestalled vases of undoubtedly late Celtic origin.

(2). Fragments including *terra sigillata* (some of which bear potters' marks) found on Stanwix Bank during the recent widening of the road to Brampton ; the finds were made on the Rickerby Park side of the road by Mr. Hope and others.

(3). Many interesting fragments presented by Messrs. H. T. Griffith and A. G. O'May, and found by them in cultivating garden ground behind Lismore Place, Carlisle, on which was deposited much of the débris from excavations made at the building of the Crown and Mitre Hotel. This débris teems with Romano-British and mediaeval potsherds.

The new finds enable Mr. Hope to add eight potters' marks, not included in the "Catalogue of the Roman Pottery in the Museum, Tullie House, Carlisle," by Messrs. T. May, M.A., F.S.A., and L. E. Hope, F.L.S. The marks are

(1). ALBINVS. . . BINVS, fragment from base of a dish form 31 Drag. Three potters of this name but probably La Grauf. A.D. 40-90. Stanwix Bank by L. E. Hope.

(2). ALBVCIANVS. ALBVCIAF, fragment from a dish form early 18 Drag. Potter of Lezoux, A.D. 150-190 ; also at Corstopitum, Silchester and Cirencester. Stanwix Bank by L. E. Hope.

(3). ANNIVS. ANNIVSF, fragment from a dish form 31 Drag. Graffito underside ARR. A potter of uncertain origin, probably Lezoux about A.D. 100-130. Stanwix Bank by Mr. A. G. O'May.

(4). SENONIS. SENONIO, good stamp on bottom of a cup form 33 Drag. A potter of La Grauf. A.D. 37-68. SENONI . . found at Corstopitum. Lismore Place by H. T. Griffith.

(5). TARRA. TAR-RA, about two-thirds of a dish, form 18, of hard, light red fabric found at two different times by the donor. A potter of Florent (Argonne) A.D. 190-260. Occurs at Niederbieber. Lismore Place by Mr. H. T. Griffith.

(6). LAXTVCISSA. . . XTVCISF, bottom of a cup, form 27 Drag. A potter of Lezoux A.D. 80-100. Silchester and Wroxeter. Stanwix Bank, Mr. H. T. Griffith.

(7). LVPPA. LVPPA, bottom of cup, form 33, good fabric. Probably a potter of Lezoux. Lismore Place, Mr. H. T. Griffith.

(8). VERTECISSA. . . . _CISSA.F, from base of a dish, form 31 Drag. The lower horizontal line of a letter in front of C must be E. Occurs at Silchester on a cup form 27 Drag. Little known of this potter's work. Lismore Place, Mr. H. T. Griffith.

ADDENDA ANTIQUARIA.

Stone Circle on Swarth Fell, Ullswater.

Writing on August 29th, 1920, Dr. Eliot Curwen, F.S.A., says: "On Swarth Fell, above Howtown, Ullswater, near the birth of Swarth beck, are the remains of a stone circle, 57 feet in diameter N.N.W. to S.S.E. In the three-fifths of the circle remaining there are some 65 stones, each three to four feet high, and a few inches thick. Of the 65 only one (S.E. of the centre) stands; the remainder have fallen, mostly with tops towards the centre of the circle. One would judge that the stones had never been deeply set in the soil, and I take it that the mountain-ponies and sheep have been largely responsible for their present prone position. The circular area contained within the circle is covered with bright green, short grass, while all round on every side the grass is coarse and long."

This circle is mentioned but not described in these *Transactions* o.s., iii., 252. A photograph by Mr. Eliot Cecil Curwen shows the remains as very distinct.

Bronze Spearhead from Whitbarrow.

The spearhead found by Mr. T. A. Argles early in 1920 on Whitbarrow close to a rabbit-hole, and exhibited by Mr. J. F. Curwen, F.S.A., at our meeting at Carlisle, April 15th, 1920, is of the Later Bronze Age, with leaf-shaped blade, and loops on the socket. It measures $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches in length, $\frac{13}{16}$ inch across the blade and $\frac{11}{16}$ inch across the base of the socket. It is complete and unbroken, and contains the decayed remnants of the wooden shaft at the bottom of the socket-tube.

Flint Arrow-head from Ulpha.

A finely worked and perfect specimen of the barbed and tanged flint arrow-head was found by Mr. J. H. Vince, M.A., A.C., in his garden at Esp Hall, Ulpha, and was presented by him to the Ruskin Museum, Coniston, in February, 1921. It may be remarked that such flints are exceedingly rare in the dales of the Lake District.

Roman Stones, and a Bloomery-Site near Dalegarth hall, Eskdale.

Miss Mary C. Fair writes :—" In the wood immediately behind Dalegarth Hall is the site of what appears to have been a somewhat extensive bloomery working. There are the usual cinder-heaps and patches of oxide puddle (for lining the furnace ?), and the ruins of the hearth. This hearth is in a ruinous condition, much of the masonry having fallen in, so that exact measurements are not possible. It appears to have been about 20 feet at the top in diameter, sloping down to about 10 feet in diameter at the bottom. From the bottom is a sloping conduit leading to a trough enclosed by (now ruined) masonry. The slag appears to be of a somewhat heavier type than that of many of the Eskdale bloomeries. This site was noted by the late Rev. W. S. Calverley, and the Rev. W. S. Sykes, our member, also drew my attention to it."

Miss Fair also notes, February 12, 1921, red-sandstone fragments, which appear to be parts of Roman altars, built into a farm house, less than a mile west of Dalegarth Hall, and now falling into ruin. It is said that much of the material used in building it came from Dalegarth when that residence was left by the Stanleys, and that some of the material for Dalegarth came from Hardknot Castle. Though these fragments do not seem to bear inscriptions their occurrence is noteworthy, and the find may be followed by other discoveries of stones lost from the Roman fort.

The Stoup at Morland.

(These *Transactions*, N.S.XX., p. 245).

Mr. R. Blair, F.S.A., writing in March, 1921, on this subject, sends photographs of creeing-troughs from Romaldkirk, etc., and a sketch by himself of an example at Harnham, which are well carved in various artistic shapes and ornamented with patterns and devices, as well as with initials and dates. A number of such creeing-troughs are to be seen at the Blackgate Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Mr. Blair is of opinion that the find at Morland is one of this series, rather than a holy-water stoup. The Rev. T Westgarth tells us that he reported it as a stoup on the authority of the late Dr. J. Charles Cox ; and indeed most of the creeing-troughs known in our district are of a ruder type. There may, however, be examples of the more elaborate kind, which would be worth collecting and illustrating.

With these should be compared (1) a stoup now on a bracket in Garrigill church; which was found by the Rev. T. Westgarth in 1906 in a back yard at Garrigill, and bears on the front a Greek cross in relief in a circle: (2) a stoup or mortar in Ormside church of which the Rev. W. Mather, vicar, sends sketch and dimensions; height 9½ inches, section at top and bottom about 7½ inches square; the bowl 4¼ inches in diameter and 4½ inches in depth: (3) in these *Transactions*, N.S. i., 166, the late Rev. J. Brunskill mentioned offering to the Society a somewhat similar object from Ormside church; this appears to be the small mortar, a cube of 7 inches with cavity 6 inches deep, ornamented with pilasters at the corners and six-petalled flower within a circle on each of the four sides, now in the Carlisle Museum.

Further descriptions of such objects would be welcome.

In illustration may be mentioned a specimen found in August, 1918, at St. Bartholomew the Great, London, and illustrated in *Proceedings, Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd ser., XXXII, 4-6. Upon this Mr. C. R. Peers, F.S.A., said that a stoup took the form of a pillar and capital in the twelfth century; a mortar necessarily had projections on the outside for holding it still when in use, as in the exhibit. It has a reeded band (a row of vertical columns) round the upper part, the angles below which are chamfered. Mr. Peers dated it 1175-1200.

The Kirkby Portraits.

(See these *Transactions*, N.S. vi., art. ii.).

The portrait No. VI., provisionally identified as Colonel Richard Kirkby's first wife, is undoubtedly really that of his sister Dorothy, who married Edward Wilson of Heversham Hall. At Dallam Tower there is a replica of the picture in my possession which is traditionally the portrait of that lady, and there is no reason to doubt it.

Mr. le Fleming has also shewn me two Kirkby portraits which are now at Rydal, but came from Capernwray hall. These are:—First, a replica of No. IV. of my paper, Agnes (Lowther), mother of Colonel Richard Kirkby. This is the third copy known, there being, as stated in my paper, one belonging to Colonel Gaisford at Conynger Hurst, and one in the possession of Colonel Inigo Jones. In the Rydal one, the nose is rather beaky and aquiline, and it is most probably a contemporary copy.

The other portrait at Rydal has a modern label stating that it represents Roger Kirkby of Kirkby (who married Agnes Lowther,

born 1601, who died in Ireland 1643). If this is correct it is interesting as being the son of my No. I Roger, and father of my No. V., Colonel Richard Kirkby.

The portrait measures 28½ inches by 24 inches sight-size. The face is turned three-quarters to the right and the subject wears a black skull-cap and a lace cravat. It is on canvas and in an oval.

I believe the identification to be correct. The features are mild and rather pleasant and not unlike those of his father Roger. But I do not understand the costume; as I think the skull-cap was worn almost exclusively by scholars and divines.

It is easy to see how these portraits might come to Capernwray hall.

EDWARD WILSON, of Heversham hall. = DOROTHY KIRKBY (2nd wife).

ROGER WILSON, born 1662, of Casterton hall. = JANE FOXCROFT, married 1685.

JANE WILSON (2nd wife). = OLIVER MARTON, of Capernwray.

Thus the portraits of Roger and his wife, Agnes Lowther, could pass to the Wilsons of Casterton and might be bought at the break-up of the Casterton property by the Martons of Capernwray.—H. S. Cowper.

CALDBECK IN 1642.

The Protestations of attachment to the Protestant Faith, taken in 1642, form a valuable list of the inhabitants at that date. The returns for Cumberland are perfect, or nearly so; and the list for the parish of Caldbeck has been copied from the MS. in the House of Lords by Mr. Charles Clay, one of the Clerks to the House, for the use of our member Mr. William Brown, F.S.A., who kindly communicates it as follows:—

The names of such as have freely taken the protesta'on w^th^in the p'ish of Caldbeck.

John Asbrigg.	Thomas Bewly.	Robt. Pearson.
Rutland Asbrigg.	John Wilson.	James Pearson.
Robt. Stalker.	John Asbrigg.	Rich. Ritson.
Robt. Vaux.	Robt. Asbrigg.	John Preistman.
Robt. Vaux.	John Pearson.	Rich. Atkinson.
Arthure Ritson.	Rich. Pearson.	Willm. Oldman.

Georg Preistman.
Gilbert Atkinson.
Willm. Smathorn.
Willm. Brumell.
Thomas Pearson.
Thomas Vaux.
Robt. Vaux.
Robt. Martendale.
John Parker.
Robt. Falder.
Rich. Vaux.
Willm. Wilson.
Rich. Wilson.
Hugh Wilson.
Cubt. Dalton.
Willm. Askew.
Edw. Scott.
John Williamson.
Thom. Pearson.
John Sanderson.
Peter Munkhouse.
John Munkhouse.
Thom. Porter.
Willm. Asbrig.
Simon Turner.
Robt. Slarett.
Leonard Fell.
Chareles Peacock.
Willm. Preistman.
John Smith.
Leonard Hodgson.
Thom. Hodgson.
Rich. Harrinson.
Rich. Harrinson.
Rich. Will'mson.
Thomas Wilkinson.
Thomas Cokin.
Willm. Slee.
Edw. Wilkinson
Nicholas Scott.
John Scott.
Nicholas Scott.
Rich. Scott.

Willm. Ritson.
John Asbrig.
Thom. Seawthwait.
Robt. Ritson.
Thom. Smithson.
Thom. Sewell.
Cubt. Seauitwhate.
Willm. Harrinson.
Willm. Scott.
Hugh Seauitwhate.
Willm. Stricket.
Willm. Lowry.
Robt. Cooke.
John Simpson.
Willm. Smith.
Robt. Stalker.
Willm. Simpson.
Rich. Ritson.
John Ritson.
Thom. Stalker.
Willm. Wilson.
Walter Thompson.
Thom. Huddlestone.
John Beck.
Thomas Preistman.
Hugh Preistman.
Francis Hogg.
John Fell.
Mungo Wilson.
Hugh Hogg.
John Grisedale.
Simon Sewell.
James Barton.
Rich. Huddlestone.
Thomas Bewly.
John Bewly.
Thomas Peacock.
John Ritson.
Francis Rigg.
Willm. Relf.
Rich. Relf.
John Ritson.
Georg Bewly.

Thomas Bewly.
John Pearson.
Rich. Bewly.
Thomas Huddleston.
Cubt. Browne.
John Browne.
Robt. Nicholson.
Rich. Nicholson.
Willm. Atkinson.
John Atkinson.
Thomas Parker.
Rich. Parker.
Thomas Parker.
John Parker.
Rich. Calvert.
John Parker.
Lancelot Parker.
Rich. Preistman.
George Preistman.
John Sewell.
John Robinson.
Willm. Scott.
John Preistman.
Thomas Pearson.
Cubt. Atkinson.
Willm. Bewly.
Philip White.
John Elwood.
John Wilson.
Richard Ritson.
Thomas Clarke.
John Abbott.
Willm. Dickson.
John Abbot.
Willm. Abbot.
John Richardson.
Robt. Edmondson.
John Todhunter.
John Sewell.
Willm. Ritson.
Georg Bewly.
Willm. Bewly.
Georg Ritson.

John Abbott.
Rich. Relf.
Willm. Relf.
John Pearson.
Michaell Bewly.
Georg Scott.
Thom. Peacock.
John Aucock.
Willm. Aucock.
John Scott.
John Taylor.
Willm. Whitelock.
Willm. Richardson.
Leonard White.
John Lambe.
Thomas Holyday.
Francis Barton.
John Aucock.
John Todhunter.
Thomas Mark.
Willm. Lambe.
Georg White.
Mungo Cowman.
John Strickett.
John Slater.
Rich. Slater.
Thomas Clark.
Mungo Wilson.
Georg Sympson.
Rowland Relf.
John Munkhouse.
Christopher Sympson
Thomas Lambe.
John Lambe.
Mungo Hudson.
John Abbott.
John Ritson.
Lancelot Sysson.
Willm. Ritson.
Thomas Hudson.
John Munkhouse.
Martin Alman.
Simon Strickett.

John Relf.
Rich. Scott
Rich. Scott.
Willm. Salkeld.
John Harrison.
Martin Bristow.
John Alman.
Rich. Alman.
Thom. Peacock.
John Peacock.
John Hudson.
Mungo Hudson.
Rich. Sowerby.
Thom. Alman.
Willm. Sharp.
Georg Relf.
Thomas Lamb.
John Nicholson.
John Lambe.
Anthonie Lancaster.
Rich. Abbot.
James Richarby.
John White.
John Aucock.
John Aucock.
Georg Aucock.
John Pearson.
Rich. Nicholson.
John Pattison.
Thom. Mark.
Thom. Aucock.
John Bristow.
Thom. Banke.
Thom. Hudson.
John Stricket.
Rich. Ritson.
Robart Abbot.
Mungo Bewly.
Thom. Askew.
Anthony Pattison.
Thom. Williamson.
John Williamson.
Thomas Scott.

Rich. Scott.
Cubt. Scott.
Cubt. Nicholson.
Willm. Pearson.
Georg Scott.
Leonard Cape.
Rich. Preistman
John Scott.
Thom. Asbrig.
Anthony Murtwhaite.
John Scott.
Rich. Williamson.
Matthew Brumell.
Willm. Stricket.
Thomas Ritson.
Rich. Scott.
Willm. Richardson
Willm. Jenning.
John Scott.
Georg Ritson
Willm. Scott.
Rich. Ritson.
Cubt. Greenup.
John Greenup.
Hugh Sewell.
Anthony Turner.
Robt. Scott.
Rich. Scott.
John Scott.
Georg Ritson.
Rich. Sheepheard.
Willm. Sheepheard.
John Sheepheard.
John Sheepheard.
John Sewell.
Cubt. Harrison.
Willm. Richardson.
John Cooke.
John Cooke.
Anthony Cooke.
Christopher Cooke.
Christopher Stokdale.
John Stockdale.

John Scott.
Rich. Stocdale.
Humphrey Dickson.
Hugh Bonner.
Georg Pearson.
Thom. Calvert.
John White.
Robt. Slee.
Christopher Huitson.
John White.
John Dalton.
John Scott.
Hugh Side.
John Side.
Robt. Side.
Thom. Side.
Robt. Atkinson.
Cubt. Greenup.
Willm Wisson [*sic*].
John Cokin.
Rich. Brumell.
Cubt. Greenup.
Thom. Greenup.
Willm. Greenup.
William Shepheard.
Willm. Shepheard.
Rich. Scott.
Rich. Wilson.
Anthony Gibson.
Willm. White.
John Stage.
John White.
Willm. White.
Willm. Askew.
John Askew.
John Shepheard.
John Askew.
Willm. Stalker.
Willm. Stalker.
Thom. Scott.
John Plaskett.
Robt. Savage.
Georg Bewly.
Jo. Nicholeson.
Anthony Gibson.
Mungo Ritson.
Tho. Layton.
Willm. Scott.
Jo. Head.
Jo. Rigg.
Willm. Scott.
Randall Sewell.
John Harrison.
Willm. Rigg.
Thomas Fairfax.
John Sewell.

Ita test : Dan. Hechstetter Min.

Rich. Ritson.
John Hudson. } Cunstables.

George Bewly
John Smith
John Preistman
Thom. Herring } Churchwardens.

Sum : 334.

CONISTON CHURCH, 1680.

Mr. T. Kendal of High Ground, Coniston, kindly communicates a paper of which the following is a transcript :—

A perticuler of ye writtings belonging to Coniston Church; deliv'ed by John Harrison Hen: Dover John Dixon Will: Atkinson William Harrison & Will: ffleming the old Sixe men unto the said William Atkinson Will: Harrison and William ffleming And unto William ffleming William Dixon and Christop' Dixon (they present Sixe men) Decemb' the 15th An: Do: 1680.

ffirst the Lison for Buring & Christing in Coniston Church from ye then Bishope of Chest^r

2—The Artickles of agreemt betwixt Coniston & Tilbethet.

3—A Silver Bole wth a Cover for ye Comunion.

4—A Dead ffrom Will: Walker of Youdall ffor ..	£02 : 05 : 06	
5—A Dead ffrom Will: Harrison of Holy-warth for	06 : 00 : 00	
6—A Dead from Tho: Grave of Youdall ffor ..	07 : 06 : 08	
7—A Dead ffrom Miles ffieming of Catt banke for	01 : 06 : 08	
8—A Dead ffrom Edw: Parke of Outrack for ..	04 : 00 : 00	
9—A Dead ffrom Tho: Walker of Coniston for ..	02 : 00 : 00	
10—A Dead ffrom William Tower of Howthw^te ffor	04 : 00 : 00	
11—A Dead ffrom John Locke off Spoonhow for..	03 : 10 : 00	
12—A Dead ffrom William Dixson of Dixon Ground	02 : 00 : 00	
13—A Dead ffrom Mich: Atkinson of Howthw^te ffor	08 : 09 : 08	
14.—A Dead ffrom John Atkinson of Nibthw^te for .	07 : 00 : 00	
15—A Dead ffrom Adam ffleming of Howsbank ..	02 : 00 : 00	
15—A Dead ffrom Will: Dodshon of Litlearrow ..	00 : 06 : 08	
16—A Dead of m^r Rich: Rawlings remaining in the hands of y^e old Sixe men	04 : 00 : 00	
A Dead ffrom Robt. Wilson of Cattbanke ffor the use of y^e Poore	09 : 00 : 00	
in all :	£54 : 05s: 00d.	

[On the reverse, in another hand :—]

A quende [*i.e.* quindecim, tax of $\frac{1}{15}$] throught Ulestone touneshep his : £5 : 6s : 8d. Uellesten £1 10s. od., brouton £1 10s. od., Coneston £0 8s. od., Torvare £0 8s. od., blaueth £0 5s. od., Loueike £0 10s. od., Esemoderla £0 8s. od., Egston and nuelans £0 6s. od., mansrrigs £0 1s. 8d.

Finkle Street.

Mr. P. H. Fox, in *Notes and Queries* (12 s., vi., Jan., 1920, p. 25), says that in a deed in his possession of March 31, 1809, the words occur, " being part of a certain estate there " (*i.e.* at St. Bees) " called Fennel Street, otherwise Finkle Street." In two earlier deeds relating to the same property, dated June 19, 1719 and Jan. 1, 1739, occur the words " his estate lying in Fennell Street " and " William Nicholson of Fennell Street in the Township of St. Bees." Mr. Fox submits that this is conclusive that Finkle means fennel ; but why should a common weed have given its name to a number of streets ?

Writing later, he mentions Finkle Hall at St. Bees and adds that Mr. J. Hope Brown, solicitor, of Whitehaven, has noted the following variants in deeds relating to St. Bees :—Fenel ; Fennel ; Finkel and Finkeld ; the last in a deed of 1682.

We hope to return to the subject, for which there is not space in our pages at present.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE YEAR.

"F. Haverfield 1860-1919," by Dr. George Macdonald (overprint from *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. IX. ; published by the Oxford University Press, 2s.). A short but authoritative biography of our late President, by his literary executor.

"Cumberland and Westmorland," by Daniel Scott (Methuen's *Little Guides*, 1920, pp. xii., 227 ; 6s. net) gives succinct information, especially of a historical kind, about the more important places in our district.

"The Passages of St. Malachy through Scotland," by the Rev. Canon James Wilson, Litt.D. (*Scottish Historical Review*, Jan., 1921, pp. 69-82.) The Irish Saint went twice to Rome and on his way passed through Galloway and Cumberland at the time when David I. held his court at Carlisle.

"The History of Baths and Bathing in Britain before the Norman Conquest," by C. F. Sonntag, M.D. (*Proc. Royal Soc. of Medicine*, vol. xiii., no. 6, April, 1920, pp. 25-46) consists chiefly of details concerned with Roman baths and the cult of Aesculapius. Some of the material has been gathered from the work of our late member Dr. Barnes, who described local Roman medical inscriptions in these *Transactions*. The subject of ancient baths and bathing is important, and it would be interesting to see it treated more fully by an antiquary or a classical scholar.

"Pythagoras's School," by T. H. B. Graham, M.A. (*Cambridge Review*, March 5, 1921). An article on the ancient building at Cambridge belonging to Merton College, Oxford, and otherwise known as Merton Hall.

"Verses from Fen and Fell," by Thomas Thornely, of Merton Hall, Cambridge ; formerly fellow of Trinity Hall. (2nd edition Cambridge University Press, 1920). Poems by a scholar and historian who has long been closely connected with the Lake District and writes with insight and humour. Among his themes are Muncaster and Ravenglass, Thirlmere Waterworks, and an "Ode to a steam-roller in the Lake District."

"Modern Philosophy," by Guido de Ruggiero, translated by A. H. Hanway and R. G. Collingwood (Allen & Unwin, 1920; 16s.).

"What is the Problem of Evil?" by R. G. Collingwood (*Theology*, Sept., 1920).

"Croce's Philosophy of History," by R. G. Collingwood (*Hibbert Journal*, Jan., 1921).

"The Registers of Kendal, 1558-1587"—Baptisms—transcribed by Henry Brierley, LL.D., being the first part of the Kendal Registers, issued to subscribers to the Parish Register Section of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society.

"Some Norse place-names in England," by Professor Eilert Ekwall (in the Swedish periodical *Namn och Bygd*, viii., pp. 85-96, Uppsala, 1920) includes some examples in our district:—Bleaze fell (bald fell); Elterwater (swan-water); Hardknot (rocky summit); Ullock (where wolves played); Coniston, Conishead, Cuningeshow of c. 1100, i.e. Coneyside (from the Norse for *king*); Skeldhou in S.W. Cumberland of c. 1100 (shieldhowe).

"George, Third Earl of Cumberland (1558-1605). His Life and his voyages. A study from original documents," by Dr. G. C. Williamson, author of *The Life of Lady Anne Clifford*, etc. (Cambridge University Press, 1920; demy 8vo., pp. xx, 334, with 21 illustrations; 25s. net.)

"Angles, Danes and Norse in the district of Huddersfield," by W. G. Collingwood, M.A., F.S.A. (Handbook to the early mediaeval section of the Tolson Museum, Ravensknowle, Huddersfield, 1921; with many illustrations of local crosses, etc., 1s.).

"History of the Churches in the Rural Deanery of Maryport," by J. B. Bailey; introduction by the Rev. Canon Sutton, M.A., C.B.E. (1921; sold by Mr. Hayton, Dovenby School, Cockermouth, 4s.) pp. 120, with much antiquarian and biographical matter relating to West Cumberland.

In Memoriam.

Miss Mary Elizabeth Ullock, of Quarry Howe, Bowness-on-Windermere, died on July 25th, 1920, aged 85. She had been a member of our Society since 1889, and in earlier days was often seen at our meetings. The last descendant of a family which had lived in Bowness for nearly two hundred years, she took a great interest in all that belonged to the neighbourhood, in the preservation of its links with the past and in its present welfare.

Mrs. Gillbanks, of Clifton, Westmorland, daughter of our late member Mr. James Mawson, architect to the Lowther estate; and wife of Mr. Plaskett Gillbanks, died after a long illness on September 8th, 1920. She had been a member of our Society for forty-three years, and was a keen antiquary and collector. In these *Transactions*, N.S. iii., 406-7, is a short list of the British, Roman and later objects which she exhibited to the Society at Clifton, August 28th, 1902 ; and on our visit to Appleby, September 10th, 1908, she contributed a series of rubbings of Samian ware from Kirkby Thore.

The Rev. George Jones, vicar of Thrimby with Great Strickland died at the vicarage on December 12th, 1920. Mr. Jones, after leaving Queen's College, Birmingham, in 1883, held a curacy in Derbyshire and was presented to Great Strickland in 1888 by his brother-in-law, the late Rev. J. Knight of Morland. He was a member of our Society from 1911 and a subscriber to the Record Publication fund, and often attended our meetings.

At our last Spring Meeting the absence of Dr. Barnes was greatly regretted. It was understood that he was suffering from a cold, but most of us were quite unprepared for the news of his death which reached us only a few days later. With him we lose one of our oldest and most valued members, for the services he rendered to the Society are very inadequately represented by the number of papers he contributed and the mention of his name in these *Transactions*. His continual care of our interests

his unremitting attention to details of our work and his ungrudging support in all our aims made him, for many years, the real leader of the Society at its headquarters in Carlisle.

Henry Barnes was born on July 20th, 1842, at Aikton House near Wigton, and educated at St. Bees Grammar School and Edinburgh University. In 1864 he graduated M.D. with honours, and in 1866 he settled in Carlisle, where he was, two years later, appointed physician to the Dispensary and to the Town Hospital. In 1873 he was elected physician to the Cumberland Infirmary, a position he held for thirty years, during which that institution flourished greatly; his share in creating its prosperity was recognised by attaching his name to a wing of its new buildings and by his election to the presidency. At the Home for Incurables he was successively consulting physician and president; at the Convalescent Home, Silloth, he was consulting physician and vice-president. At the Carlisle meeting of the British Medical Association in 1896 he took the chair, and at the Montreal meeting of the Association he received from McGill University the honorary degree of LL.D. He was also a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. He was one of the founders of the local Hospital Sunday and Saturday Fund and served on the Committee from 1870 until his death. In 1907 he took part in establishing the Cumberland branch of the Red Cross Society, of which he was hon. secretary and treasurer throughout the War, earning the merited decoration of O.B.E. He also served on the Local Advisory Committee of the Central Carlisle Board (Liquor Traffic) and on the City of Carlisle Local Tribunal. He had been J.P. for the city from 1887 and for the county from two years later; in 1904 he was appointed Chairman of the Cumberland Ward Justices. From 1873 to 1900 he was vicar's warden of St. Cuthbert's, Carlisle; from 1903 to 1918 a governor of the Grammar School, and latterly a member of the Committee for the Carlisle Library and Museum.

Notwithstanding these varied responsibilities he found time for frequent travel, to America and to the Continent, and for considerable studies in local and professional history, on which he wrote in various publications. He became a member of this Society in 1875, member of Council in 1894, and a vice-president 1909. He contributed to these *Transactions* papers on "Leprosy and Local Leper Hospitals" (o.s. x); "Visitations of the Plague in Cumberland and Westmorland" (o.s. xi.); "Touching for the King's Evil" (o.s. xiii.); "The proposed Ethnographical

Survey" (o.s. xiv.); and to the new series, "Roman Medicine and Medical Practitioners," and "Bones from the Grayson-Lands Tumulus" (i); "The Bishop's Licence to practise medicine, etc.," (iii); "Stone Coffin and Chalice found at St. Nicholas, Carlisle" (vi); "The Kirkoswald Coffin Chalice and Paten, and others" (vii); "The Battle of Ardderyd" (viii); "Bankers' Scales" (xii); "Aikton Church" (xiii); and "The McMechan Chapbooks in the Jackson Library" (xvii).

Dr. Barnes died at his house in Portland Square, Carlisle, on April 12th, 1921, from heart failure following a bronchial attack. He was in his 79th year. He married in 1873 Emily Mary, daughter of Mr. Thomas Barnes of Bolton, Lancashire, and is survived by his wife, a son and a daughter.

LIST OF MEMBERS

OF THE

CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND ANTIQUARIAN AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

(COMPLETED TO JULY 8th, 1921).

HONORARY MEMBERS.

BRIERLEY, Henry, LL.D., Poolcy Bridge, Penrith.*||

MAXWELL, The Right Hon. Sir Herbert E., Bart., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.Scot., Monreith, Wigtonshire.

PEERS, Charles Reed, M.A., Director S.A., Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments, 14 Lansdowne Road, Wimbledon, London, S.W.19.

RAGG, the Rev. Frederick W., M.A., F.R.Hist.Soc., The Manor House, Lower Boddington, Byfield, R.S.O.*||

MEMBERS.

[NAMES IN SMALL CAPITALS SIGNIFY LIFE MEMBERS; AN ASTERISK INDICATES SUBSCRIBERS TO THE PARISH REGISTER SECTION; A DAGGER TO THE RESEARCH FUND; AND A PARALLEL TO THE RECORD PUBLICATION FUND.]

1914 Abercrombie, Mrs., St. Anne's, Abbot's Bromley, Rugeley.
1913 Aberdeen University Library (P. J. Anderson, Librarian).
1911 Adair, Harold, Ringingstone, Egremont, Cumberland.
1919 Adam, T., M.B., 48 London Road, Carlisle.
1911 Ainley, Rev. A., The Priory, St. Bees.
1878 Ainsworth, Sir J. S., Bart., Harecroft, Holmrook, Carnforth.||†
1921 Airey, R. G., Highfield, Kendal.
1874 Allison, Sir R. A., Scaleby Hall, Carlisle.*||
1895 Ambleside Library, "Armitt Trust."*
1915 Anderson, Dr. W. D., Chestnut Hill, Keswick.
1911 Anderson, Rev. T. W., The Vicarage, Temple Sowerby, Penrith.
1912 ANDERTON, Henry Ince, Palazzo Capponi, 28 Via Gino Capponi, Florence, Italy.
1899 Archibald, C. F., 2 Darnley Road, West Park, Leeds.
1879 Argles, Thomas Atkinson, *Treasurer* (1908), Eversley, Milnthorpe.
1916 Ashby, Miss M. Ruth, The Mount, Wigton.
1919 Atkinson, H. E., Maison Zarka, Cleopatra, Ramleh, Egypt.
1902 Atkinson, John R., Bank Field, Beckermet.
1907 Atkinson, William, The Rookery, Ulverston.
1920 Auden, Arnold Wm. Montford, B.A., M.D., Birch House, Leigh, Lancs.
1917 Auden, Rev. Walter D., Bainbridge Road, Sedbergh.
1917 Auld, J. H., 12 Scotch Street, Whitehaven.

1911 Bailey, Charles Edwin, Howard Cottage, Warton, near Carnforth.
1913 Baily, Mrs. G. H. J., Christ's Church Vicarage, Penrith.
1913 Baily, Rev. G. H. J., Christ's Church Vicarage, Penrith.
1908 Barnes, T., Solicitor, Carlisle.
1920 Barnes, T. Ismay, Castlerigg, Keswick.
1921 Bark, Rev. L. G., The Cathedral, Carlisle.
1907 Baron, Rev. R. R. N., Mouldron, Aske, Richmond, Yorkshire.
1885 Barrow-in-Furness Free Library.||
1913 Barrow Naturalists' Field Club (W. L. Page, Cavendish Street, Barrow).
1918 Bates, Lt.-Col. J. H., Fir Bank, Penrith.
1918 Bates, Miss, Fir Bank, Penrith.
1912 Baxter, Rev. William, Holm Cultram Rectory, Abbey Town, Carlisle.
1881 Beardsley, Richard Henry, Bay Villa, Grange-over-Sands.
1912 Beckton, John Backhouse, 81 Castle Street, Carlisle.
1919 Beetham, Chas. G., F.H.S., Windmoor Heath, Co. Cumberland, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.
1910 Beetham, Dr. Frederick, Clifton End, Manningham, Bradford.*
1899 Bell, W. Heward, F.S.A., Cleeve House, Seend, Wilts.
1911 Bennett, Mrs., Whelpside, Hensingham, near Whitehaven.
1899 Bentinck, Lord Henry Cavendish, Underley Hall, Kirkby Lonsdale.
1919 Bewley, Mrs., Causa Grange, Rosley, nr. Carlisle.
1921 Binning, W. W. R., Riverscaur, Stanwix, Carlisle.
1919 Birkett, Mrs. J. Stanwell, Little Ellers, Keswick.
1914 Blackburn, Edward, Solicitor, Low Row, Carlisle.
1920 Blackburn, Mrs., Corbridge Vicarage, Northumberland.
1879 Blair, Robert, F.S.A., Harton Lodge, South Shields.
1902 Board of Education Library, Victoria and Albert Museum, Kensington, [S.W.
1899 Booker, R. P. L., M.A., F.S A., Elmbridge, Droitwich.
1877 Boston Free Library, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
1913 Bosward, Wm., L.C.W. & P. Bank, Ltd., Market Branch, Liverpool.*
1913 Bouch, C. M. Lowther, St. Gabriel's House, St. Peter's ,London Docks, E.
1914 Bouch, Rev. J. Lowther, Ackworth Rectory, Pontefract.*||
1898 Bowman, A. N., Wreay Syke, Carlisle.||
1919 Bradford Public Library, Darley Street, Bradford.
1918 Braithwaite, Mrs. E. A., West Croft, Egremont, Cumberland.
1908 Braithwaite, J. W., Market Square, Kirkby Stephen.
1908 Breeks, Mrs., Helbeck Hall, Brough, Kirkby Stephen.
1919 Bridger, Hugh Lempriere, 19 Abbey Road, Barrow.
1910 Brierley, Mrs. H., Pooley Bridge, Penrith.
1907 Briggs, William, O.B.E., C.C., The Vale, Lancaster.
1906 Broatch, J., Solicitor, Stanger Street, Keswick.
1888 Brougham, The Right Hon. Lord, K.C.V.O., Brougham, Penrith.
1914 Brown, James Walter, 35 Chiswick Street, Carlisle.
1904 Brown, William, F.S.A., The Old House, Sowerby, Thirsk.
1914 Browne, Thomas, Broadgate House, Windermere.
1914 Bruce, Mrs., Wansfell, Windermere.
1908 Brydson, A. P., M.A., Water Park, Greenodd, Ulverston.||
1913 Buchanan, McIver, 28 Chepstow Villas, Bayswater, London, W.
1905 Buckwell, G. W., Board of Trade Surveyor's Office, Market Place, Hull.
1913 Burlington, Joseph, B.A., Kingston Place, Fox Houses Road, Whitehaven.

1913 Burnett, Dr. J. R., Riverholme, Keswick.
1905 Burnett, James R., The Red Beeches, Scotby, Carlisle.
1915 Burns-Lindow, Samuel L., Greenlands, Holmrook, Carnforth.
1895 Butler, Wilson, B.A., Glebelands, Broughton-in-Furness.
1917 Byard, Rev. Canon The Vicarage, Penrith.
1921 Byers, John, 11 Humbledon View, Sunderland.

1919 Caddow, Mrs., Edenfield, Stanwix, Carlisle.
1919 Cain, Capt. H. Porritt, Graystones, Ramsbottom, Manchester.
1911 Caine, Rev. Cæsar, The Vicarage, Cleator, Cumberland.
1899 Calverley, Mrs., Wray Head, Holmrook, Cumberland.†
1898 Campbell, Ven. & Worshipful Archdeacon & Chancellor, M.A., The Abbey, Carlisle.
1878 Carey, Thomas, 23 Curzon Street, Maryport.
1899 Carlisle Public Library (L. E. Hope, Tullie House).*
1913 Carlisle, the Right Rev. the Bishop of, *Patron* (1920).
1917 Carmichael, Rev. T. A., Bolton Vicarage, Penrith.
1921 Carr, Ronald L. N., Langarth, Brisco, Carlisle.†
1897 Carr, Sidney Storey, 14 Percy Gardens, Tynemouth, Northumberland.
1892 Carruthers, Richard, Eden Grove, Carlisle.
1907 Cartmell, H. Studholme, Heads Nook, near Carlisle.*||
1875 Cartmell, Joseph C. E., 15 Caldew Street, Silloth.
1917 Chambers, Walter J., Ullcoats, Bidston Road, Oxton, Cheshire.
1899 Chance, Sir F. W., Morton, Carlisle.
1915 Chippindall, Col. W. H., Fairbank Cottage, Kirkby Lonsdale.*
1901 Chorley Free Public Library.
1899 Clark, John, Broughton-in-Furness.*
1893 Clarke, Rev. J. J., M.A., Selside Vicarage, Kendal.*
1919 Clay, Rev. Canon, Miller Bridge, Ambleside.†
1903 Clayton, Mrs., Chesters, Humshaugh.
1905 Cock, Rev. E. H., Ings Vicarage, Kendal.
1910 Cole, T. E. Butler, Moresdale Hall, Kendal.
1894 Collingwood, A. H., Town Clerk's Office, Carlisle.
1887 Collingwood, W. G., M.A., F.S.A., *Editor* (1900), and *President* (1920), Lanehead, Coniston.*†||
1909 Collingwood, Robin G., M.A., F.S.A., *Editor* (1920), Pembroke College, Oxford.
1918 Collison, Charles, B.A., Lonsdale House, St. Bees.†||
1883 Conder, Edward, F.S.A., Terry Bank, Old Town, Kirkby Lonsdale, and Conigree Court, Newent, Gloucester*
1921 Cooper, Alfred Heaton, Norwegian Studio, Ambleside.
1913 Copeland, Rev. Wm., St. Stephen's Vicarage, Carlisle.
1903 Coulthard, Dr., Yarrow House, Aspatria.
1913 Cousins, H. M., M.Sc., County Secondary School, Brampton.
1913 Coutts, Hubert, R.I., Hammarbank, Windermere.
1913 Coutts, Mrs., Hammarbank, Windermere.
1884 Coward, John, Fountain Street, Ulverston.
1886 Cowper, H. S., F.S.A., *Vice-President* (1904), High House, Hawkshead.
1915 Crackenthorpe, Dayrell, Newbiggin Hall, Newbiggin, Carlisle.
1885 Creighton, Miss, 1 Eden Mount, Stanwix, Carlisle.
1904 Crerar, Dr. J. W., 11 High Street, Maryport.

1886 Crewdson, F. W., *Auditor* (1906), Gilling Grove, Kendal.
1913 Crewdson, Capt. W. D., Helme Lodge, Kendal.
1901 Cropper, Charles J., Ellergreen, Kendal.
1919 Cross, The Right Hon. Viscount, Eccle Riggs, Broughton-in-Furness.
1904 Cumberland and Westmorland Association of London (C. Maugham, Hon. Sec., The Park, London Road, Forest Hill, London, S.E.).
1910 Cumpston, Miss, Barton Hall, Penrith.
1900 Curwen, A. D., Workington Hall, Workington.‖
1899 Curwen, Eldred Vincent, Capo di Monte, San Remo, Italy.
1887 Curwen, John F., F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary for Correspondence* (1911), Heversham, Westmorland.‖
1906 Curwen, Miss Patricia, Workington Hall, Cumberland.

1914 Danson, Sir F. C., F.S.A., Dry Close, Grasmere.*
1920 Davison, John J., 18 West Street, Wigton.
1907 Dent, R. W., Flass House, Crosby Ravensworth, Shap.†‖
1895 Devonshire, His Grace the Duke of, Devonshire House, Piccadilly, London, W.
1911 Dickinson, Frederick, The Towers, Cockermouth.
1921 Dickinson, George, Red How, Lamplugh, Cumberland.
1918 Dickson, Maurice, Levenside, Haverthwaite, Ulverston.
1919 Dixon, F. P., Wood View, Carlisle.
1886 Dixon, T., Rheda, Whitehaven.
1911 Dobson, William, Howgate, Brampton.
1913 Dodd, Miss E. L., London Road, Carlisle.
1894 Donald, Miss H. M., Stanwix, Carlisle.
1909 Donald, Mrs. Sydney, Quarry Hill, Mealsgate.
1901 Doyle, Hugh, 4 Cringlethwaite Terrace, Egremont, R.S.O., Cumberland.
1918 Dransfield, G. R., Derwent Cottage, Portinscale, Keswick.
1921 Duff, Harold, Mawbray, Maryport.
1903 Dyson, Mrs., 37 Moor Oaks Road, Broomhill, Sheffield.‖
1921 Dwyer, Mrs., Rocklands, Kendal.

1919 Ecroyd, Thomas B., Low House, Armathwaite.
1916 Edmonds, Charles, Dalzell Street, Moor Row, Cumberland.
1906 Edmondson, R. H., Brierswood, Sawrey, Windermere.
1917 Edmondson, Thomas, Carleton Terrace, Penrith.
1921 Ekwall, Prof. Eilert, Lund, Sweden.
1912 Ellison, John, Holme Wood, Cockermouth.
1917 Ellwood, Rev. R. D., Whittingham, Northumberland.

1911 Fair, Miss, The Ferns, Eskdale Green, Cumberland.
1887 Farrer, William, Litt.D., *Vice-President* (1903), Whitbarrow Lodge, Grange-over-Sands.
1920 Farrer-Ecroyd, Miss A. M., Whitbarrow Lodge, Grange over Sands.
1915 Fawcitt, Dr. Richard, Broom Hill, Broughton-in-Furness.
1912 Fell, Major, J.P., Brentwood, Caton, Lancaster.
1901 Ferguson, Major Spencer C., *Member of Council* (1905), Westholme, Brookvale Road, Southampton.*†‖
1910 Fisher, Joseph, Higham, Bassenthwaite Lake, Cockermouth.

1886 Fletcher, W. L., Stoneleigh, Workington.
1884 Ford, John Rawlinson, *Vice-President* (1914), Yealand Conyers, Carnforth.
1899 Ford, Rev. Harold D., Thursby Vicarage, Carlisle.
1907 Forster, Charles, Layer Cottage, Stoke-by-Clare, Suffolk.*||
1907 Forster, R. H., F.S.A., Rest Dod, Coombeinteignhead, near Teignmouth, S. Devon.
1914 Foster, Allan, Swarthbeek Cottage, Pooley Bridge.
1904 Fothergill, Miss, Brownber Cottage, Newbiggin-on-Lune, Penrith.||
1911 Fox, P. H., M.A., High House, St. Bees.*||
1913 Frankland, Edward Percy, B.A., Ph.D., M.Sc., Needlehouse, Ravenstonedale.
1921 Frost, Miss E. Gertrude, Oakburn, Windermere.
1918 Fulton, E. A., Sedgwick, nr. Kendal.

1921 Gandy, Henry, M.A., D.L., C.B.E., Skirsgill Park, Penrith.
1920 Gardiner, Miss, Highfield Kendal.
1910 Garnett, Miss, Fairfield, Windermere.
1915 Garston, Miss Gwendolen, Bowston Bridge, Burneside, Kendal.
1889 Gatey, George, Gale Bank, Ambleside.
1921 Gatwood, Walter, Kynance, South Road, Ashley Heath, Hale, Cheshire.
1877 Gibson, Miss M., Beekside House, Barbon.*
1911 Gibson, William, Greyfell, Penrith.*
1885 Gilbanks, Rev. W. F., M.A., Great Orton, Carlisle.
1911 Gill, F. V., 42 Park Drive, Heaton, Bradford.
1906 Gillbanks, Plaskett, Clifton, Penrith.
1877 Gillings, Mrs., Broughton-in-Furness.
1916 Glaister, Professor John, M.D., F.R.S.E., The University, Glasgow.*
1916 Glasgow University Library.
1911 Golland, Rev. C. E., M.A., The Vicarage, Glasson Dock, near Lancaster.
1910 Goodchild, Mrs. C. Waldon, Milburn, Newbiggin, Carlisle.
1914 Goodman, Rev. G. J., Ashmore, Brampton.
1913 Gordon, Mrs., 9 Scotch Street, Whitehaven.
1904 Gordon, Rev. C. J., Great Salkeld, Penrith.
1909 Graham, Hartley, The Larches, Penrith.
1921 Graham, H. S., St. Martin's, Wetheral, Carlisle.
1899 Graham, T. H. B., *Member of Council* (1912), Oxford and Cambridge. Club, Pall Mall, London, S.W.*†||
1900 Grainger, Francis, Southerfield, Abbey Town, by Carlisle.
1893 Green, Rev. R. S. G., M.A., Wetheral Rectory, Carlisle.
1877 Greenwood, R. H., *Auditor* (1898), Bankfield, Kendal.*
1913 Grice, Richard, Cross House, Bootle, Cumberland.
1921 Griffith, Herbert Troyte, 5 Hartington Place, Carlisle.
1901 Groves, W. G., Holehird, Windermere.||
1893 Guildhall Library, London, E.C.2 (Bernard Kettle, Librarian).*

1912 Hale, Rev. Bernard G. R., M.A., Edenhall Rectory, Langwathby.
1918 Hallaway, R. R., 5 Devonshire Street, Carlisle.
1878 Hargreaves, J. E., Shortlands, Kendal.
1912 Harris, Major Charles J. J., Royal Garrison Artillery, 14 Scotch Street, Whitehaven.

1921 Harris, Mrs. Charles J. J., 14 Scotch Street, Whitehaven.
1916 Harrison, J. R., Scalesceugh, by Carlisle.
1904 Harrison, Miss M. E., The Glen, Far Sawrey, Windermere.
1894 Harrison, Rev. D., M.A., Dunthwaite, Cockermouth.
1916 Hartley, E. L., Park Hotel, Preston.
1914 Harvard College Library, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
1912 Haslam, Rev. J. P., M.A., Old Brathay, Ambleside.
1893 Haswell, Colonel John Francis, C.I.E., M.D., *Hon. Sec. and Treasurer Parish Register Section* (1911), *and Vice-President* (1913), The Friarage, Penrith.
1915 Haythornthwaite, Dr. E. Parker, Rowrah, by Workington.
1915 Hedley, Oswald W. G., O.B.E., Briery Close, Windermere.
1908 Heelis, E. A., Bongate Cross, Appleby.
1908 Heelis, Mrs. E. A., Bongate Cross, Appleby.
1898 Heelis, Rev. A. J., M.A., Brougham Rectory, Penrith.
1892 Hellon, Robert, Whinthwaite, Seascale, Carnforth.
1910 Henley, Lady Dorothy, 49 Montagu Square, London.*
1890 Hewitson, William, Appleby.
1885 Hibbert, Percy J., Hampsfield, Grange-over-Sands.*†||
1889 Higginson, H., 3 Warwick Road, Carlisle.
1920 Highmoor Miss, Eden Cottage, Kirkby Thore, Penrith.
1889 Hinds, Miss, 25 Howard Place, Carlisle.†
1899 Hobson, William Harrison, Maryport.
1915 Hodgkin, T. Edward, Old Ridley, Stocksfield, Northumberland.
1906 Hodgson, C. Courtenay, The Courts, Carlisle.*||
1914 Hodgson, J., Merivale, Yelverton, S. Devon.*
1918 Hodgson, Miss Katherine S., Newby Grange, Crosby-on-Eden, Carlisle.
1914 Hodgson, Mrs. Alice, Western Lodge, Workington.
1895 Hodgson, Mrs. Hesketh, *Member of Council* (1916), Newby Grange, Crosby-on-Eden, Carlisle.
1919 Holmes, Percy, Moor Row, Cumberland.
1895 Holt, Miss E. G., Sudley, Mossley Hill, Liverpool.†
1903 Holt, Lady, Blackwell, Windermere.
1913 Hope, Joseph Fearon, 17 Helvellyn Street, Keswick.
1920 Hope, Linnæus E., F.L.S., Tullie House, Carlisle.
1921 Hopewell, Donald G., Arkholme, by Carnforth.
1921 Hopwood, A., D.Sc., A.R.C.Sc., F.I.C., Springfield, Northumberland Road, Carlisle.
1912 Horrocks, Mrs., Salkeld Hall, Langwathby, near Penrith.
1882 Hothfield, The Right Hon. Lord, *Patron* (1882), Appleby Castle.
1898 Hough, Kighley J., 14 Portland Square, Carlisle.
1904 Houlgate, John William, 5 Threadneedle Street, London.
1909 Howard, Philip J. C., Corby Castle, Carlisle.
1914 Huntrods, Joseph, "Alameda," Whitehaven Road, Workington.
1895 Hudleston, Ferdinand, Hutton John, Penrith.*||
1902 Hudson, Rev. J. Clare, The Briars, Woodhall Spa.
1905 Hughes, T. Cann, M.A., F.S.A., *Member of Council* (1920), 78 Church Street, Lancaster.
1913 Hutchinson, Sir Joseph T., Braystones, Beckermet.

1914 Inglis, Colonel H. A., Green Lane, Dalston, Cumberland.
1919 Irwin, Major T. S., Justicetown, Carlisle.
1912 Irwin, Wilfred, Derwent Lodge, Cockermouth.

1921 Jackson, Charles S., Hazel Bank, Yanwath, Cumberland.
1911 Jackson, Mrs. Edwin, Threlkeld Leys, Cockermouth.
1918 James, W. A., Church Street, Southwell, Notts.
1908 Johnson, Miss Alice, Homestead, Craig Walk, Bowness-on-Windermere.
1916 Johnson, Mrs. E. L., The Croft, Bowness-on-Windermere.
1904 Johnston, J. Rooke, Coomb Eden, Armathwaite, R.S.O.
1921 Johnstone, John D., Eden Lacy, Lazonby.
1921 Jones, Miss Janet A., Burneside, Kendal.
1918 Jones, Trevor B., 9 Chatsworth Square, Carlisle.
1908 Jowett, John Samuel, 3 Windermere Road, Kendal.
1916 Jump, Rev. J. E., 6 Danes Road, Staveley, Kendal.

1921 Keeley, R. M., High Street, Wigton.
1917 Kelly, Paul Vincent, 36 Kendal Street, Barrow-in-Furness.*
1908 Kendal Public Library (J. Wilson Brown, Librarian).*
1898 Kendall, John, L.R.C.P. and S., Oaklands, Coniston.
1889 Kennedy, Myles, Stone Cross, Ulverston.
1914 Kenworthy, John D., A.R.C.A., Sea Croft, St. Bees.
1906 Kirkbride, Mrs., 40 Blencathra Street, Keswick.
1906 Kitchin, Rev. J. A., The Rectory, Kirkandrews-on-Eden.
1916 Kirk, Oliver, Ellerslie, Gosforth, Cumberland.

1902 Lancaster Public Library (J. M. Dowbiggin, Librarian).*||
1903 Law, Rev. R. H.
1918 Law, Sir Algernon, K.C.M.G., C.B., 74 Brook Street, London, W.1.*
1920 Lawson, Miss M., Castle View, Wetheral.
1911 Lawson, Wm. John, Westwood, Brampton.
1882 Lazonby, J., 9 Lenton Avenue, The Park, Nottingham.*
1889 Le Fleming, Stanley Hughes, Rydal Hall, Ambleside.
1897 Leconfield, The Right Hon. Lord, Petworth, Sussex.
1896 Lediard, H. A., M.D., 26 Lowther Street, Carlisle.
1917 Leech, William Henry Bragg, M.A., 16 Wordsworth Street, Penrith.
1901 Leeds Library (D. A. Cruse, Librarian).
1895 Lehmann u. Stage, Copenhagen.
1914 Leigh, W. B., Poolstock, Heaton Mersey.
1911 Lester, Herbert, Briar Cottage, Penrith.
1919 Lewthwaite, Mrs., The Ralliss, Silecroft.
1919 Liddle, Wm., Wrayside, Wetheral.
1916 Lightfoot, Ernest W., Birkby House, Stanwix, Carlisle.
1911 Lincoln's Inn, the Hon. Society of (A. F. Etheridge, Librarian).*
1907 Ling, W. N., Ashgate, Wetheral, Carlisle.
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1903 Little, W., Lowther, Penrith.
1914 Little, William Benjamin, 40 Petteril Street, Carlisle.
1883 Liverpool Free Public Library.
1911 Lewellyn, H. H., Inglemere, Arnside.||

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The Ordnance Survey, Southampton.
The Shropshire Archaeological and Natural History Society (The Librarian, Free Public Library and Museum, Shrewsbury).
The Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne (C. Hunter Blair, F.S.A., The Library, Blackgate, Librarian).
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CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Two Life Subscriptions	21	0	0	Invested in War Loan	19	0	0
Dividends from War Loan..	3	5	9	Balance in Bank..	6	4	6
Bank Interest	0	18	9				
	£25	4	6		£25	4	6

GENERAL ACCOUNT.

RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.	EXPENDITURE.	£	s.	d.
Balance from last Account	64	0	0	Congress of Archæological Societies (1919-20), Subscription	1	0	0
Subscriptions Received	227	9	6	Do. do. 200 Reports	0	15	0
Donation	10	0	0	Expenses of Spring Meeting, Postage of Circulars, &c.	6	18	9
Sales of Back Parts	1	2	6	Expenses of Annual Meeting, Postage of Circulars, &c.	3	8	2
Bank Interest	3	16	10	Printing and Stationery	18	13	6
				Postage of Receipts and Correspondence	3	0	9
				Printing and Binding Vol. XX., N.S. *Transactions*	240	12	4
				Blocks for Illustrations	2	13	3
				Postage and Carriage of Volumes	11	10	10
				Balance to next Account	17	16	3
	£306	8	10		£306	8	10

Examined and found correct, but only subscriptions received to date taken into account. R. H. GREENWOOD, F. W. CREWDSON, } Auditors.

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RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.
Balance from last Account	13	3	3
Subscriptions received	9	13	0
Donations (Borrans Field)..	1	10	0
Sale of Reports	0	5	0
Bank Interest	0	4	11
	£24	16	2

EXPENDITURE.	£	s.	d.
Excavations (Borrans Field)	10	4	5
Receipt Book	0	2	0
Balance in Bank	14	9	9
	£24	16	2

RECORD PUBLICATION ACCOUNT.

RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.
Balance from last Account	36	15	8
Subscriptions received	10	19	6
Bank Interest	0	15	5
	£48	10	7

EXPENDITURE.	£	s.	d.
Balance in Bank	48	10	7
	£48	10	7

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R. H. GREENWOOD, F. W. CREWDSON, } Auditors

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1920-21.

Contributions in 1920-21, in continuation of Subscriptions previously acknowledged.

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Corrigendum.

P. 225, line 4 from foot, read "L. Cellar and late underground way to chapel."

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